Complete Election Analysis

california JOURNAL

APRIL 2004
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Fantastic...

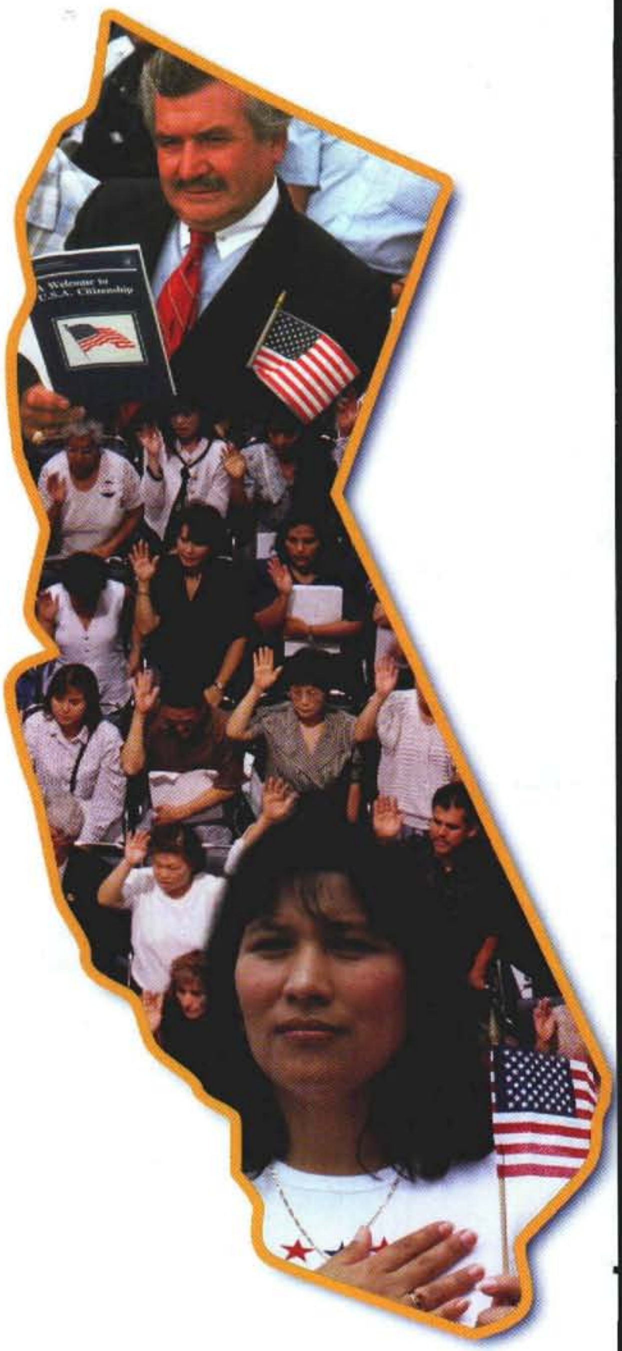
... or not.

Did Arnold get a mandate?

2,167,200*

Hispanics
are Registered to
Vote in California

Hispanics
have the Power to
Swing the California
Election



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their language,
Are You?

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* Source USHLI - The Almanac of Latino Politics 2002-2004

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from the editor

Victory dance

A lot of cigar-chompers gave Arnold Schwarzenegger pats on the back in the wake of last month's election because the governor had passed the first great test of his administration — gaining public approval for Prop. 57, the "recovery bond." (See page 17 for analysis of the Prop. 57 campaign.) But while the governor and lawmakers can and should breathe a sigh of relief that Prop. 57 passed, it would be premature to construe the result as a sign of the governor's political strength. Schwarzenegger and his bipartisan allies, notably state Controller Steve Westly, poured themselves into the campaign with bus tours, direct mail and ubiquitous TV ads. Yet all of that heavy lifting failed to motivate many voters, who stayed away from the polls in record numbers for a presidential primary. The governor can rightfully rejoice in the success of Prop. 57, but he can't be very comfortable with how the electorate as a whole responded to his effort. The photo on page 8 shows the governor and others in full euphoria on Election Night. Given turnout, a little humility might have been in order.

A.G. Block

Cover photo: Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger at a victory party for Props. 57 and 58. Robyn Beck, AFP/Getty Images, 3/02/04.

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The governor's heavy lifting resulted in passage of Proposition 57, but he failed to inspire the electorate. **By A.G. Block**

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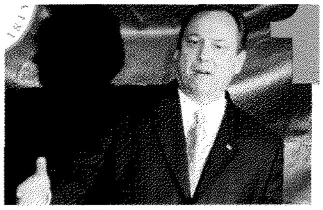

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By Peter Richardson

Homeless in Sacramento?

Most states provide an official residence for their governors, but California's chief executive still camps out in a Capitol hotel.
By Claudia Buck

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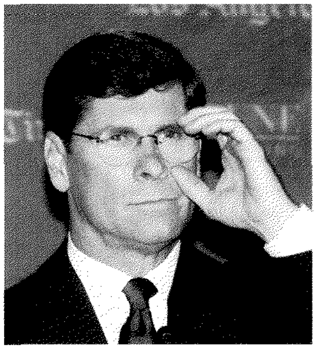
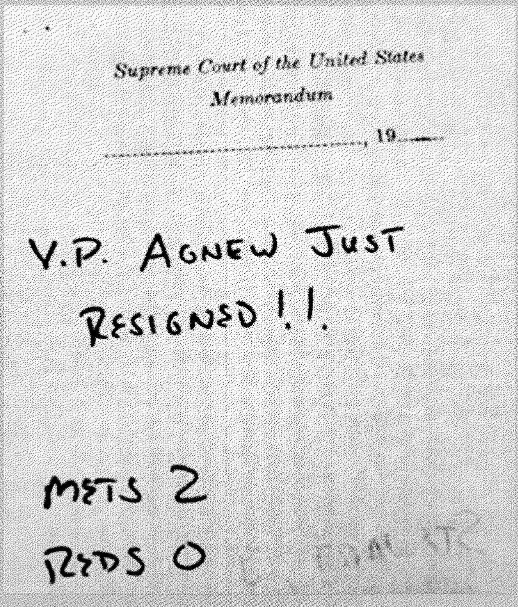
umbrage

Stupid pet trick. The California Dental Assn. pumped more than $600,000 in direct contributions and independent expenditures into an Assembly race to elect one of their own, Bill Emmerson. A Republican, Emmerson was embroiled in a tough primary against Elia Pirozzi in San Bernardino Co. But the CDA may not have realized what it had in Emmerson. Never mind that $600,000 can turn any candidate into a lap dog, Emmerson and members of his staff were caught being stupid in a public place. In late February, they placed a crank call to Pirozzi headquarters, then forgot to hang up while discussing a plan to send out a fake labor endorsement of their opponent. The plot was recorded on Pirozzi's message machine. Emmerson later confessed after being confronted with the message tape but dismissed the episode as "rowdy campaign office talk." Emmerson eventually won by a whippet-thin margin and likely will win in November. Assembly GOP staff may want to instruct him carefully in the use of floor mikes.


Bill Simon

Lowering his sights. Wasn't too long ago that Republican candidate Bill Simon was locked in a knock-down, drag-out fight for California's top elected job. But that was November 2002 — another lifetime and another governorship ago. After spending millions of his own money — and losing to Gray Davis by 5 percentage points — Simon disappeared into the political shadows. Since then, the Los Angeles businessman has been speaking out on behalf of candidates statewide and served on the governor's transition team. Having shaken off the loss, he's now gearing up for another run at statewide office: this time, the state treasurer's job. A few months ago, Simon formed an exploration committee for the 2006 treasurer's race, billing himself as a "tight-fisted conservative guardian of the people's hard-earned tax dollars." Also interested in the GOP primary for state treasurer is termed-out Sen. Ross Johnson and state Bd. of Equalization member Claude Parrish.


Supreme Court of the United States
Memorandum
, 19

V.P. Agnew Just Resigned !!

Mets 2
Reds 0

Source: National Public Radio

Bench notes

When the papers of late Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun were recently released — 10 years after he left the bench in 1994 — they revealed the human side of history. Among the hundreds of thousands of papers Blackmun meticulously stashed away for posterity was this note, passed among the justices while sitting on the bench. As it shows, the high court's members were interested in far more than just weighty matters of justice.

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Tracking Trends:

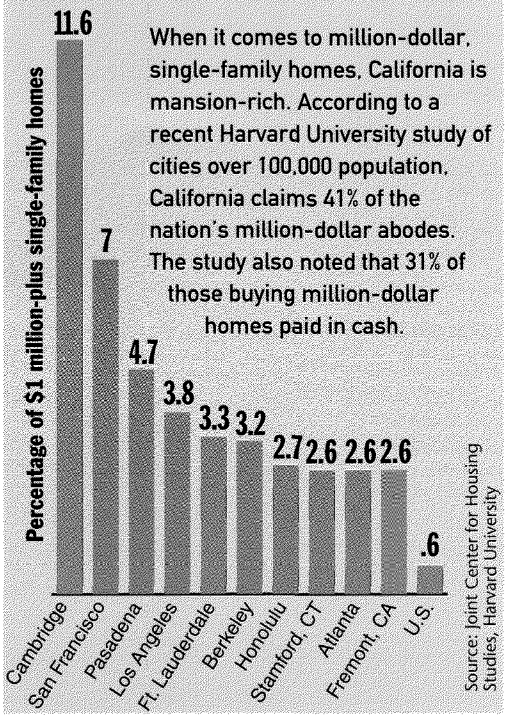
"I Spy" a consumer

I SPY
design
$60.00

It's called RFID for *radio frequency identification*, and few people know about it. But that's about to change, as state Sen. Debra Bowen (D-Redondo Beach) has proposed the nation's first attempt to regulate RFID, which involves planting tiny computer chips into objects in order to track them. The chips emit signals to computerized "readers" that can identify the precise location and type of merchandise — a sweater in a store, for example, or a magazine. Companies such as Wal-Mart, England's Tesco grocery chain and The Gillette Company are using or expect to use RFID.

A consumer who buys a blouse at one store then visits other stores in a mall could be tracked from store to store. A customer with an RFID-tagged credit card could even be billed without going through the checkout — unlike bar codes, the RFID readers can scan the chip even through clothing. To protect shoppers' privacy, Bowen's SB1834 requires that stores must tell consumers when an RFID system is used, get their consent before tracking and destroy RFID tags after an item is purchased.

Home Sweet Home... Ka-Ching!



When it comes to million-dollar, single-family homes, California is mansion-rich. According to a recent Harvard University study of cities over 100,000 population, California claims 41% of the nation's million-dollar abodes. The study also noted that 31% of those buying million-dollar homes paid in cash.

Source: Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University

Ballot Watch:

Kiddie votes

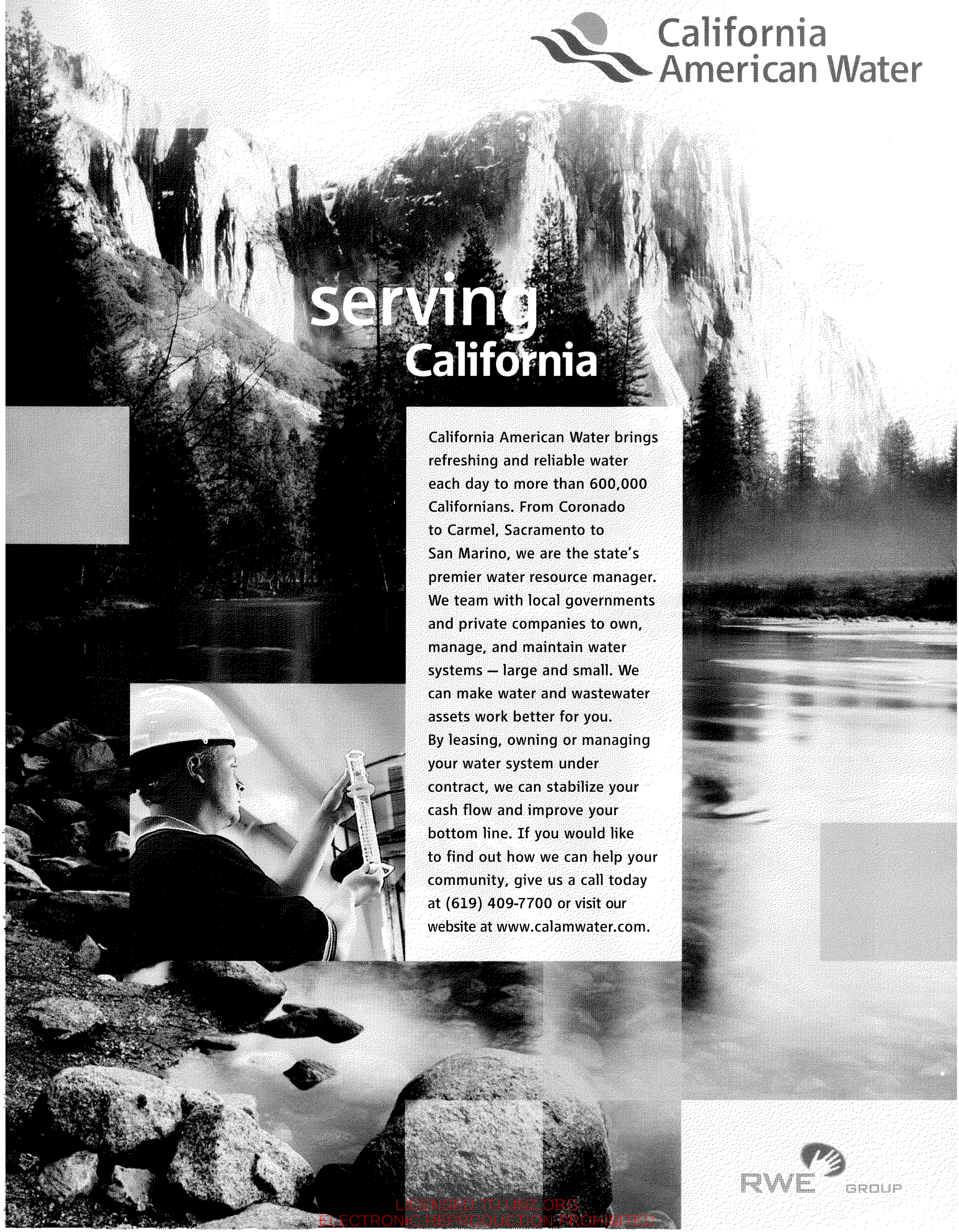
With voter turnout reaching new lows, four Democratic state lawmakers recently proposed a youthful solution — extending the vote to 14-year-olds.

Sen. John Vasconcellos (D-San Jose), the state's longtime champion of self-esteem, said allowing 14-to-17-year-olds to join their elders at the polls will instill lifelong voting habits. Others call the whole idea ludicrous. Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, told *The Sacramento Bee* it amounted to "terminal dumbness." Although they might need Mom to drive them to the polls, teenage voters likely wouldn't get hung up on hanging chads or electronic voting machines.

Quotables.....

"I've served under ... five governors and to be truthful, the only one I've known that actually had the ability and confidence in himself to say 'Wait a minute, maybe this can be done another way,' is Gov. Schwarzenegger. Some of the other governors were either too stubborn or were not secure in themselves."

— state Sen. John Burton, noting his support of
Props. 57 and 58 in the *Los Angeles Times*



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CALIFOR
BACK O

Arnold's

Never mind the presidential primary o
the March 2 election was all about
He boosted Proposition 57 to
a mandate for anything

For the average Californian, a March primary is a little like going to the dentist at six in the morning. Not only is it unpleasant, it comes before that first jumbo java ignites any brain cells. Perhaps that's why a majority of registered voters bagged it, making 2004 the worst-attended presidential primary in state history (see graph, page 15).

In theory, the early March primary is all about giving California a greater say in choosing nominees for presi-

RNIA IS
TRACK

victory lap

the Republican contest for U.S. Senate,
Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger.
victory, but did his effort give him
else? By A.G. Block

dent. But theory hasn't jived with reality for decades — a chasm made clear on Primary Day when North Carolina Senator John Edwards, the one hopeful left between Massachusetts Senator John Kerry and the Democratic nomination, all but dropped out of the race three hours before polls closed in California.

In truth, California's irrelevancy in the 2004 presidential sweepstakes was well understood long before the national campaign meandered into Super Tuesday, where California shared the spotlight with 10 other states, including New York, Georgia and Ohio (see page 11). Nor was there much interest in the Republican primary for U.S. Senate (see page 13).

No, this primary focused on an elected official who was not on the ballot but whose embryonic political career had reached a very early crossroads — Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. After only four months in office, Schwarzenegger had much at stake on March 2, not because he needed to get himself elected to anything but because he had put his full weight and prestige behind passage of a ballot measure. And the fate of that measure — Proposition 57 — would reveal volumes about both the governor and his future ability to lead the state and dominate its political landscape (see page 17). Had he failed, and Proposition 57 been defeated, it would have reduced his stature as a political force and instead reinforced the notion that the governor was a political freak. More significantly, it would have diminished his clout both with the Democrat-controlled Legislature and with conservatives in his own party who were already suspicious of a pro-choice, environmentalist Republican married to — of all people — a Kennedy.

That Schwarzenegger succeeded in lifting Proposition 57 to victory is a tribute to his ever-optimistic and energetic personality, his penchant for hard work and his ability to fashion a bipartisan coalition with Democrats that virtually eliminated organized opposition to his proposal.

But did Schwarzenegger receive some kind of personal mandate for his efforts? And did he demonstrate that he can turn his every whim into public support?

The jury is out.

Certainly, the governor's effort achieved victory for Proposition 57. But it did not inspire voters to stampede to the polling booth. Moreover, his ballot measure campaign was virtually unopposed and had wide bipartisan support. The only significant nay-sayers were Democratic state Treasurer Phil Angelides and Republican state Senator Tom McClintock, who mostly relied on free media to get their message out. For Schwarzenegger, it was a little like the Los Angeles Lakers drubbing a squad from the local middle school.

In addition, the governor's real opponent was not a person or a party he could demonstrably strangle. It was an attitude: skepticism on the part of the public over the concept of borrowing to pay off budget deficits and concern over the state's accumulated debt. Will he achieve the same level of success against a well-funded, organized opposition battling for individual candidates or for a complex issue such as workers' compensation?

The results of March 2 do not provide a ready answer.

Other ballot outcomes

The primary for president and local district races for the Legislature and Congress were not the only interesting questions before voters in various parts of the state. Corporate America lost two of its three battles in Northern California. Although Wal-Mart beat back an attempt to ban big-box retail stores in Contra Costa County, Pacific Lumber lost its bid to recall the Humboldt County district attorney who had sued the timber giant for fraud. Pacific Lumber spent in excess of $230,000 on the failed recall. And further south, a group of agribusinesses spent $500,000 in a failed attempt to defeat a Mendocino County initiative that bans genetically altered crops.

Voters in the San Francisco Bay Area agreed to hike bridge tolls to pay for mass transit, Alameda County approved a sales tax increase to fund the county's public health care system and voters in the Los Angeles Unified School District okayed Measure R, a $3.87 billion bond to build new schools.

Finally, two significant elected officials experienced opposite outcomes at the polls on March 2. San Diego Mayor Dick Murphy won re-election against a pair of challengers, while in Bakersfield, Kern County Supervisor Pete Parra was denied a third term by Michael Rubio, an aide to state Senator Dean Florez (D-Shafter). Parra is the father of Assemblywoman Nicole Parra (D-Hanford).

Otherwise, this election was all about Arnold.

JOHN KERRY
KERRY
JFK
IN '04
JOHN F. KERRY PRESIDENT 2004

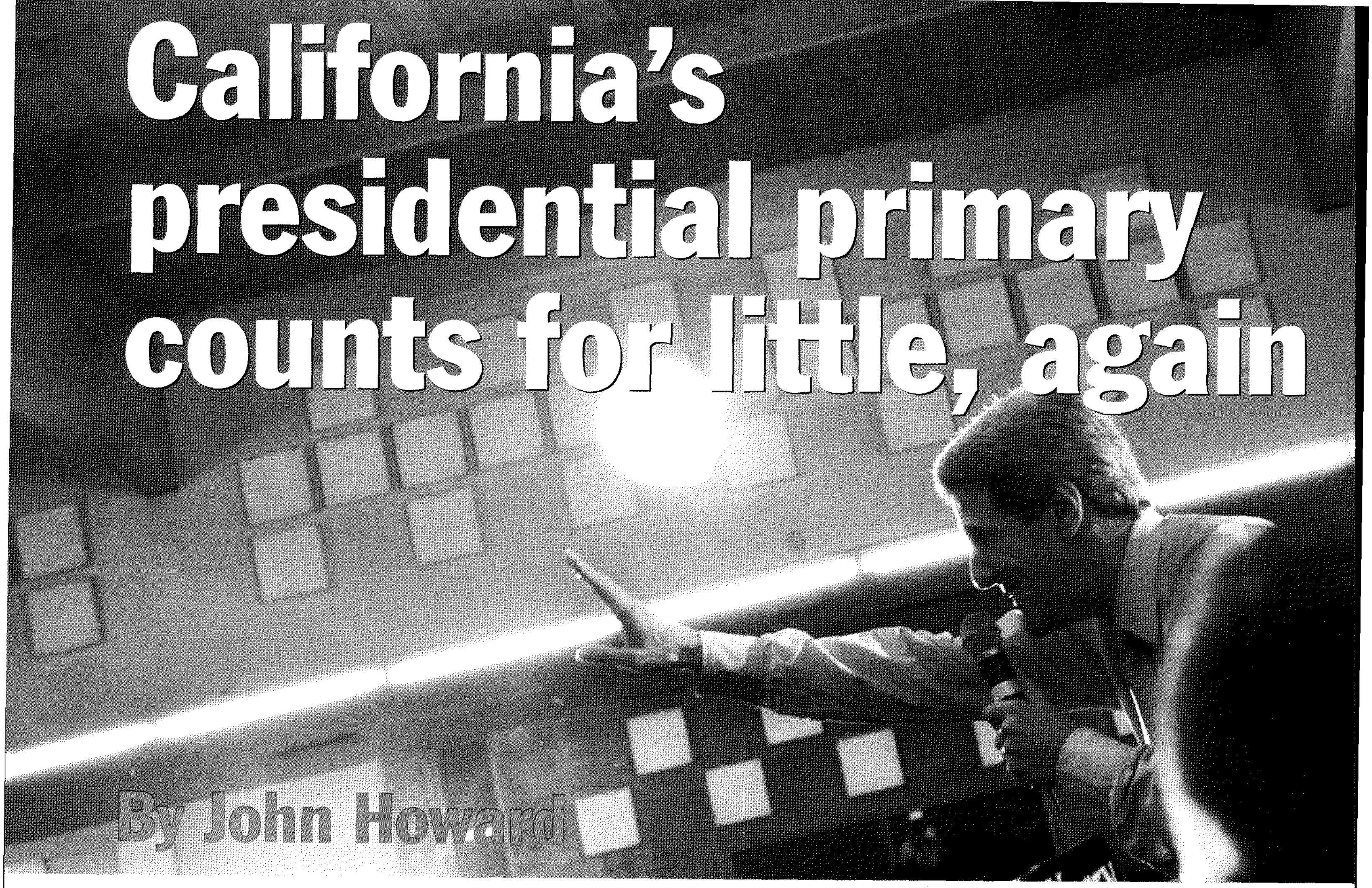
The selling of John Kerry. Photo by Mark Murmann, 2/04

KEY to DISTRICT CHARTS

CD = Congressional district
SD = state Senate district
AD = Assembly district
D% = percent of Democratic voter registration
R% = percent of Republican voter registration
DS% = percent registered decline to state
Democrats = Democratic primary candidates
Republicans = Republican primary candidates
Other = third party primary candidates
AI = American Independent Party
G = Green Party
L = Libertarian Party
PF = Peace and Freedom Party
IE = Independent Expenditure, see list on page 24
***** = incumbent

California's presidential primary counts for little, again

By John Howard



John Kerry on the campaign trail in Oakland. Photo by Mark Murmann, 2/04

When John Kerry handily won California's Democratic presidential primary with nearly two-thirds of the vote, it came as little surprise to anyone. The Massachusetts senator already had put together an impressive string of victories, his closest rival didn't even bother to campaign in the nation's largest state and Democrats nationally had been lining up behind Kerry.

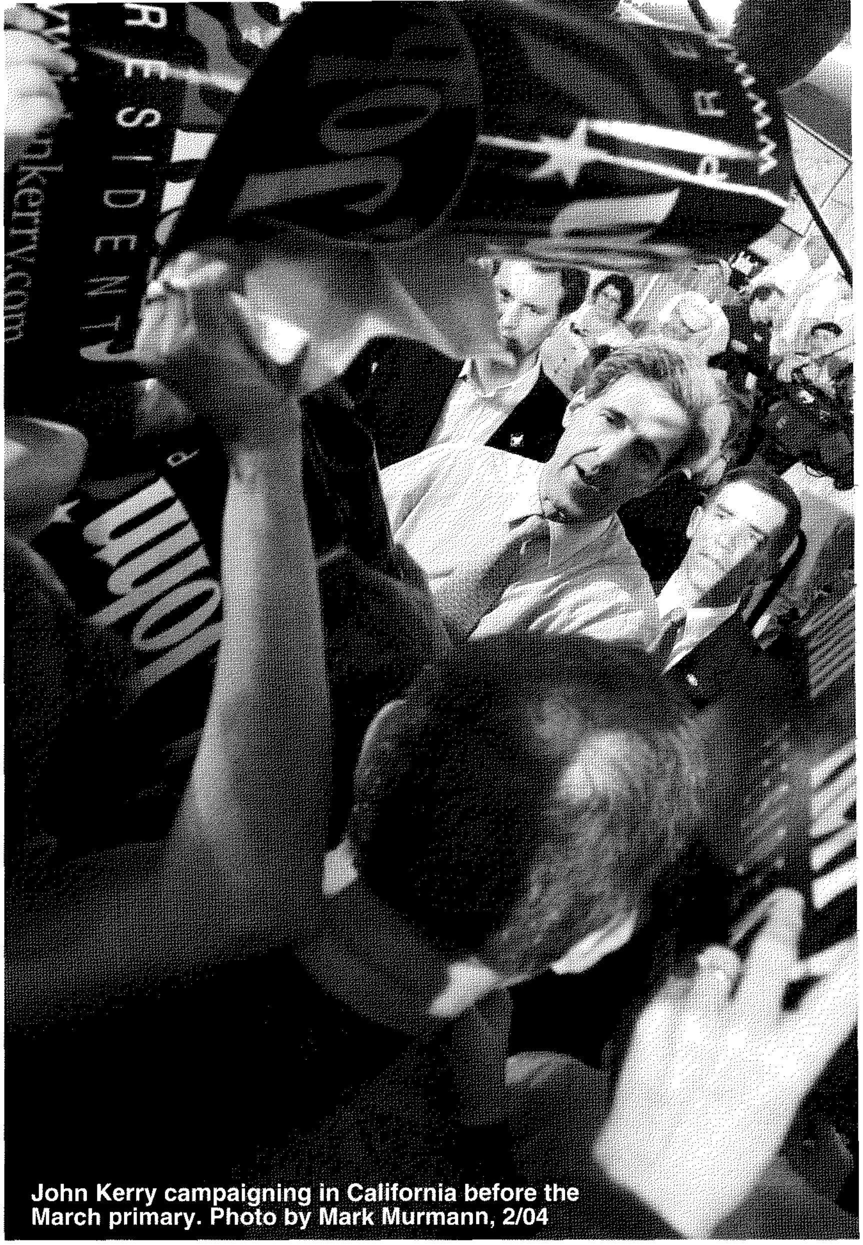
By Super Tuesday, March 2, Kerry had captured all but three of 30 nomination battles. In California, he outpaced North Carolina Senator John Edwards by better than 3-1, while the rest of the crowded Democratic field barely registered on the voters' radar. California, which went Democratic in 2000, was not crucial to Kerry's push for the nomination. Indeed, California has not played a pivotal role in a Democratic presidential primary in 32 years, when George McGovern defeated Hubert Humphrey in 1972. That lack of importance could be why, on Election Day, Edwards only consulted an Eastern clock before conceding the nomination to Kerry. Unfortunately, that was hours before the polls closed in California, thereby dampening what already promised to be a dismal turnout by California voters.

The lack of impact — again — of California's presidential primary prompted new interest in legislation to shift the primary back to later in the year. For decades, California's presidential primary was held in May and state primaries were held in August. For 44 years, from 1948 to 1992, both were held in June. But lawmakers ordered the primaries moved up to March in 1996 in hopes of giving the state more clout in selecting presidential nominees. So far, that hasn't panned out, and there is concern that holding the state's primary election in March discourages turnout.

A new bill by Senator Ross Johnson (R-Irvine), SB 1730, would push both primaries back to the last week in June.

Kerry's California victory solidified the conventional wisdom that he represents a consensus candidate for Democrats as they gird for a bloody, costly general election fight against President George W. Bush, who was unopposed in the Republican primary.

By the time California's primary rolled around, a brutal, eight-week round of caucuses and primaries had winnowed the field as the Democrats' erstwhile heavy-hitters dropped from the race, although their names remained on the ballot — retired General Wesley Clark, House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, former Vermont Governor Howard Dean and Connecticut Senator Joe



John Kerry campaigning in California before the March primary. Photo by Mark Murmann, 2/04

Lieberman.

Whatever California's irrelevance in the primary contests, its significance in November could be profound. California has more voters, more electoral votes — 55 — and more campaign cash than any other state in the country.

The general election campaign already is under way — in earnest — months before the nominating conventions of either major party. President Bush is taking direct shots at Kerry, a departure from earlier incumbent presidents who didn't go on the offensive until late summer. Bush has raised more than $143 million, and has more than $100 million in the bank — a presidential fundraising record. The Kerry campaign hopes to raise $80 million by the summer, and took in $1 million a day during the six days after the primary.

California's primary carried mixed signals for Democrats. Voter turnout statewide was the lowest ever for a presidential primary, a paltry 38.8 percent of registered voters, which flew in the face of early predictions that a parade of Democratic candidates would lure voters to the polls. Indeed, in Los Angeles County, the state's largest county with nearly a third of the electorate and a heavily Democratic base, the turnout only hovered near 34 percent.

Presidential contenders aside, the presence of four major ballot propositions — two pushed by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger as budget-balancing devices, another to reduce the two-thirds majorities needed to pass budgets and a fourth to provide $12.3 billion for school construction — were expected to entice voters. They didn't.

California's lackluster presidential turnout was not unique. Nationally, the turnout of some 10.3 million Democrats who voted in primaries through Super Tuesday — primaries only, not the caucuses in 13 states — was the third lowest since 1960, according to the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate.

However, a low primary turnout doesn't mean the general election turnout also will be low. In that same 1960 election, for example, the national turnout for the November presidential race between John Kennedy and Richard Nixon was 64.9 percent — the highest in modern history.

John Howard is senior editor at the California Journal. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

California presidential primary (44% D – 35% R – 16% DS)

Wesley Clark (D)	47,892	1.6%	**George W. Bush (R)**	**2,067,141**	**100%**
Howard Dean (D)	121,837	4.3%	**Michael A. Peroutka (AI)**	**24,640**	**100%**
John Edwards (D)	569,564	19.8%	David Cobb (G)	4,916	11.9%
Dick Gephardt (D)	20,864	0.7%	Kent Mesplay (G)	888	2.1%
John F. Kerry (D)	**1,858,382**	**64.4%**	Lorna Salzman (G)	4,440	10.6%
Dennis J. Kucinich (D)	133,656	4.7%	**Peter Miguel Camejo (G)**	**31,392**	**75.4%**
Lyndon LaRouche (D)	7,417	0.2%	**Gary Nolan (L)**	**11,214**	**58.9%**
Joe Lieberman (D)	49,250	1.7%	Michael Bednarik (L)	3,148	16.5%
Carol Moseley Braun (D)	22,577	0.7%	Aaron Russo (L)	4,682	24.6%
Al Sharpton (D)	55,014	1.9%	**Leonard Peltier (PF)**	**2,642**	**58.1%**
			Walter F. "Walt" Brown (PF)	1,912	41.9%

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY
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Bill Jones at the GOP state party convention.
Photo by Mark Murmann, 2/04

Is Bill Jones the GOP's best bet?

By John Howard

Republicans are convinced that Bill Jones, who captured an easy primary election victory on March 2, represents their best shot in 12 years at defeating Democratic incumbent Barbara Boxer for the U.S. Senate. But as Jones begins the eight-month general election campaign with scant cash and is outclassed 10-to-1 in fundraising, that rosy outlook may be more indicative of how bad the earlier campaigns were than any new vulnerability in Boxer.

Clearly, one hatchet has been buried. After Jones endorsed Arizona Senator John McCain, not George W. Bush, for president in 2000, he paid dearly for that miscue. When Jones ran for governor in 2002, his fund raising — never stellar — suffered even more, as Republicans shunned him and the White House favored a rival. Jones wound up finishing third in the March 2002 primary behind political neophyte Bill Simon and former Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan.

But that was then.

This time, Jones has Bush's backing — indeed, Jones is campaigning with the president in California at every opportunity, and showed up with him during Bush's election-week fund-raising swing through California that netted the president $5 million. Second, Jones is backed by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, who endorsed Jones in the primary and likes Jones on a personal level. Just days after the October 7 recall election, Schwarzenegger offered him a job as his chief of staff, the most powerful unelected government post in California.

Governors rarely endorse one candidate over another in the primary, and Schwarzenegger's action rankled GOP contenders Rosario Marin, Toni Casey and Howard Kaloogian. It also miffed some ranking GOP strategists, who felt Marin, an attractive, female Hispanic with an up-from-the-roots success story, would have made a far tougher opponent for Boxer than the more conventional Jones, a Fresno farmer who served two terms as secretary of state.

Schwarzenegger's endorsement of Jones sucked the

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Howard Kaloogian (left) and Rosario Marin (above at left) greet their supporters at the state GOP convention. Photos by Mark Murmann, 2/04

oxygen out of the race and left little maneuvering room for the other GOP contenders.

Marin and Casey, both of whom had worked in the Bush administration, got no help from the president, who appeared anxious not to cross swords with the popular Schwarzenegger. Kaloogian, an aggressive former lawmaker who was one of several leaders in the Davis recall movement, sought to depict himself as the only Republican mean enough to take on the scrappy Boxer. The strategy fell flat and Kaloogian wound up a distant third.

Jones hopes to raise money with Schwarzenegger's help, and he will. But will it be enough? That's one of two big questions in the campaign. The second is whether Jones can capitalize on Schwarzenegger's support and identify himself closely with the popular governor.

Boxer, unopposed in the primary, is well positioned to win a third term. She starts the race with nearly $6 million in hand, a finely tuned donor list and a 10-point lead over Jones in the polls. That's far better than in 1998, when she was statistically tied with Republican Matt Fong in a March survey, fell badly behind a month before Election Day, then pulled off a victory with a huge TV ad buy. Veteran political strategist Roy Behr again heads her campaign team.

The U.S. Senate race marks the Democrats' first statewide contest since Democratic Governor Gray Davis was dumped in the October 7 recall election. Democrats are thirsting for revenge and, since Schwarzenegger isn't on the ballot, Jones will have to do.

Voters may think all politicians are alike, but California's 2004 U.S. Senate race offers evidence to the contrary: Jones vs. Boxer is the classic conservative vs. liberal contest.

On issues, there are clear distinctions: Jones opposes abortion rights, supports U.S. policy in Iraq and favors life sentences for repeat offenders. Boxer is pro-choice on abortion, opposes the war in Iraq and has opposed mandatory prison time for firearms-related crimes. Because Boxer's opposition to off-shore oil drilling played well for her in past elections, Jones sought to take that issue off the table: He proposed a government buyout of 36 still-undeveloped offshore leases, similar to action taken in Florida

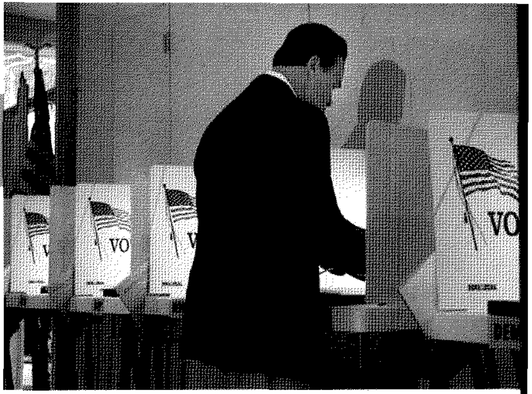
The state's economy, like that of the nation, is soft, and could prove a wild card in the U.S. Senate race. If the economy improves and voters give Bush at least some of the credit, it helps Jones. If the economy remains flat or sours, and Bush takes the heat, Jones will be in trouble. Similarly, Bush's handling of Iraq could have an impact. If Bush loses support over Iraq during the summer and fall, Boxer will undoubtedly seek to tie Jones to the president's policies.

Jones may be the GOP's best shot, but it's anything but a sure win.

John Howard is senior editor at the California Journal. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

U.S Senate (44% D – 35% R – 16% DS)		
Barbara Boxer (D)	**2, 312,488**	**100%**
Danny Ball (R)	34,163	1.6%
Toni C. Casey (R)	127,836	6.3%
Barry L. Hatch (R)	64,614	3.1%
Bill Jones (R)	**916,170**	**45%**
Howard Kaloogian (R)	225,024	11%
Rosario Marin (R)	408,340	20%
Bill Quraishi (R)	29,606	1.4%
James Stewart (R)	71,655	3.5%
Timothy Oliver Stoen (R)	113,906	5.6%
John M. Van Zandt (R)	52,288	2.5%
Don Grundmann (AI)	**29,112**	**100%**
James Gray (L)	**12,445**	**57.2%**
Gail Lightfoot (L)	9,323	42.8%
Marsha J. Feinland (PF)	**4,45**	**100%**

The 2004 primary at a glance

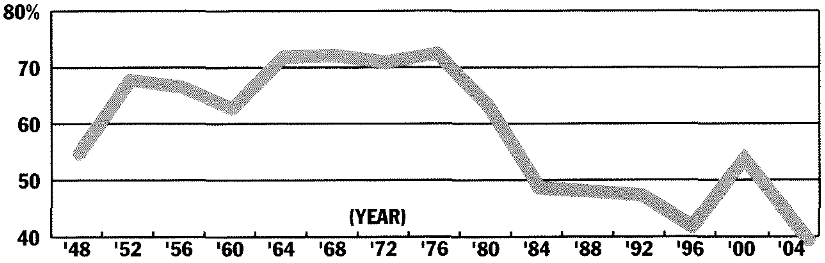


Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger casts his ballot.

The tale of California's 2004 primary is not who voted but who didn't. More than six in every 10 registered voters stayed home, the sorriest turnout ever for a California presidential primary. Republican Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger claimed a political victory after voters approved Proposition 57, but it was no mandate. A scant 3.6 million voters said "Yes" to his "economic recovery" bond — only one in seven of those eligible to cast ballots. Democratic presidential contenders didn't lure voters to the polls, either. Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry handily won California's Democratic primary, as expected, but the Golden State was only a footnote in his march to the nomination.

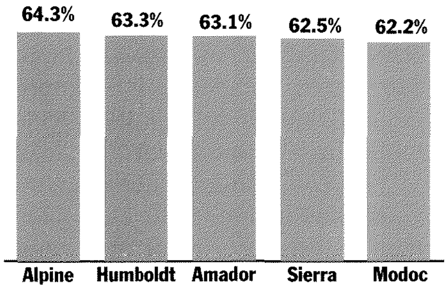
Presidential primary turnouts through the years

The 38.8% voter turnout on March 2 was the lowest in state history, but others have come close: The March 1996 turnout was a desultory 41.9%, and the next lowest was in June 1940, at 43.05%. But there have been bright spots. Four California primaries exceeded 70% turnout, including 72.6% in 1976 and 72.2% in 1968.



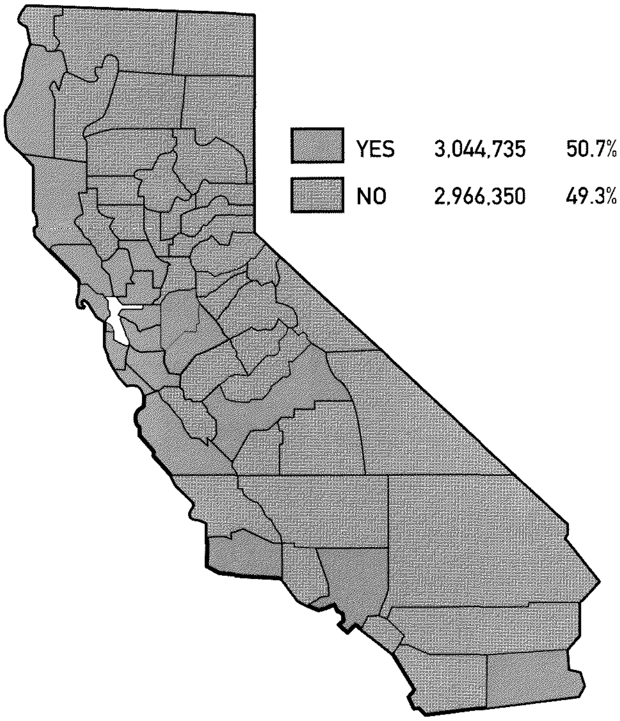
Rural voters come out in droves

Small-town voters clogged their local precincts, contradicting the statewide trend. Of the five top county turnouts, ranging from 60.4 percent to 64.3 percent, all were in rural areas. Four were solidly Repoublican; one, Humboldt, was Democratic.



School bond makes the grade

The $12.3 billion school construction bond squeaked through by a scant 72,000 votes out of nearly 5.8 million cast. Schwarzenegger didn't like the bond, Prop. 55, but he didn't campaign against it. The bond's passage means that Californian voters have approved $25 billion worth of school financing in 16 months.



Source: California Secretary of State, 3/15/04

Voter turnout in largest counties

COUNTY	REGISTERED VOTERS	TURNOUT PERCENTAGE
Los Angeles	3,682,950	36.3%
Orange	1,384,086	40.5%
San Diego	1,336,353	43.5%
Santa Clara	783,890	33.1%
Alameda	679,145	45.9%
Riverside	663,814	36.9%
San Bernardino	649,501	38.2%
Sacramento	593,544	48.4%
Contra Costa	453,036	53.9%

PROPOSITIONS

For Californians, the March 2004 election was all about a relatively small number of ballot propositions. Despite the presence of a presidential primary and several intense contests for the Legislature and Congress, voters' attention focused mostly on Proposition 57 — the so-called "Economic Recovery Bond" promoted to the max by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. By dint of personality — and millions of dollars spent on television ads — Schwarzenegger and his allies made the $15 billion bond the biggest blip on voters' radar screens. In the process, he lifted it from a negative rating in most polls as late as January to a 63-to-37 percent victory on Election Day, a stunning turnaround that demonstrated both the governor's popularity and the trust voters place in him. But the nature of the election itself, with its low voter turnout, also left unanswered questions about Schwarzenegger's ability to pass more controversial initiatives where opposition might be stiffer and more organized.

Three of the four ballot measures before voters passed, the lone exception being Proposition 56 — a proposal to lower the majority for passing a state budget from two-thirds to 55 percent. A school bond, Proposition 55, was approved but by the barest of margins, indicating voter concern about the total volume of state debt.

Proposition 55: School Construction Bond

It used to be, not so long ago, that a school bond was the closest thing to a slam dunk on any statewide ballot. With money raised from the sale of bonds earmarked for building and renovating schools, and with school-age populations growing in nearly every corner of the state, voters routinely approved such proposals. After all, school bonds accomplish what bonds traditionally are supposed to do — borrow money to pay for fixed assets. Two years ago, for instance, a similiar school bond (Prop. 47) passed with 59 percent of the vote, attracting support from more than 3.8 million Californians. In December 2000, another school bond (Prop. 39) passed with 53 percent of the vote.

March 2004 provided different atmospherics, however. And although Prop. 55 passed, it attracted nearly a million fewer votes than its 2002 cousin, Prop. 47.

Bonds and the accumulation of public debt were very much on the minds of voters in the March election, not because another school bond was before them but because of the intense campaign to pass a very different kind of bond — the so-called "economic recovery bond" embodied in Prop. 57 and heavily pushed by Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger (see page 18). Prop. 57, which called for $15 billion in bond sales, is the largest single bit of borrowing in California history. Prop. 55 layered another $12.3 billion in debt on top of it.

The combination made voters skittish, especially older voters who no longer have school-age children and who tend to be more frugal and more conservative. Their concern showed up on Election Day, where Prop. 55 passed by fewer than 80,000 votes out of nearly six million cast. Nor was the measure helped by historically low voter participation in the March primary.

Despite widespread support from a variety of groups such as the California Taxpayers' Association, state Chamber of Commerce and teacher unions, Prop. 55 failed in a majority of California counties, including Orange, San Diego, Ventura, Riverside and San Bernardino. It gained only 51 percent of the vote in Los Angeles County but passed by wide margins in all of the counties that surround San Francisco Bay.

Opposition to Prop. 55 was virtually non-existent, although state Senator Rico Oller (R-San Andreas) signed ballot arguments against the measure. There was no

March 2004 Ballot Propositions

Proposition 55: School Construction Bond		
Yes	**2,981,893**	**51%**
No	2,911,258	49%
Proposition 56: State Budget Accountability		
Yes	2,014,977	34%
No	**3,884,613**	**66%**
Proposition 57: Economic Recovery Bond		
Yes	**3,757,813**	**63%**
No	2,178,154	37%
Proposition 58: Balanced Budget Act		
Yes	**4,198,760**	**71%**
No	1,710,876	29%

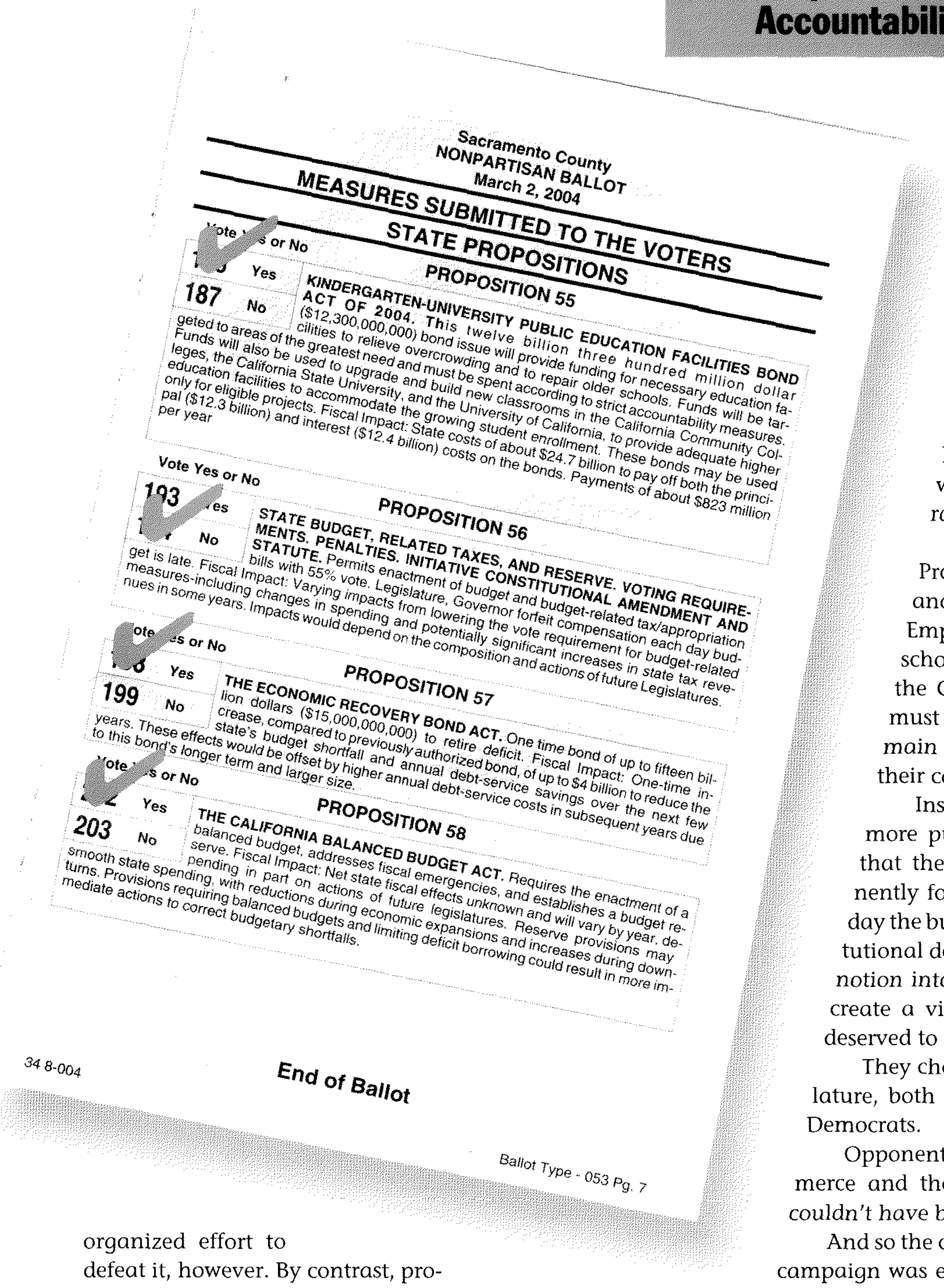
organized effort to defeat it, however. By contrast, proponents spent nearly $7 million to pass it, a campaign that included slick brochures and a television blitz during the final week before the election.

Polls taken in late February showed that young voters mostly backed the school bonds, while older voters were more inclined to approve the governor's recovery bond — but not both bonds. Since older voters tend to show up at polling stations regardless of popular interest in a particular election, proponents worried that low voter turnout would scuttle the education bond.

They were very nearly correct.

— *A.G. Block*

Proposition 56: State Budget Accountability



Sacramento County
NONPARTISAN BALLOT
March 2, 2004

MEASURES SUBMITTED TO THE VOTERS
STATE PROPOSITIONS

Vote Yes or No

[✓ Yes]
187 No

PROPOSITION 55

KINDERGARTEN-UNIVERSITY PUBLIC EDUCATION FACILITIES BOND ACT OF 2004. This twelve billion three hundred million dollar ($12,300,000,000) bond issue will provide funding for necessary education facilities to relieve overcrowding and to repair older schools. Funds will be targeted to areas of the greatest need and must be spent according to strict accountability measures. Funds will also be used to upgrade and build new classrooms in the California Community Colleges, the California State University, and the University of California, to provide adequate higher education facilities to accommodate the growing student enrollment. These bonds may be used only for eligible projects. Fiscal Impact: State costs of about $24.7 billion to pay off both the principal ($12.3 billion) and interest ($12.4 billion) costs on the bonds. Payments of about $823 million per year

Vote Yes or No

193 [✓ Yes]
No

PROPOSITION 56

STATE BUDGET, RELATED TAXES, AND RESERVE. VOTING REQUIREMENTS. PENALTIES. INITIATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT AND STATUTE. Permits enactment of budget and budget-related tax/appropriation bills with 55% vote. Legislature, Governor forfeit compensation each day budget is late. Fiscal Impact: Varying impacts from lowering the vote requirement for budget-related measures-including changes in spending and potentially significant increases in state tax revenues in some years. Impacts would depend on the composition and actions of future Legislatures.

Vote Yes or No

[✓ Yes]
199 No

PROPOSITION 57

THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY BOND ACT. One time bond of up to fifteen billion dollars ($15,000,000,000) to retire deficit. Fiscal Impact: One-time increase, compared to previously authorized bond, of up to $4 billion to reduce the state's budget shortfall and annual debt-service savings over the next few years. These effects would be offset by higher annual debt-service costs in subsequent years due to this bond's longer term and larger size.

Vote Yes or No

[✓ Yes]
203 No

PROPOSITION 58

THE CALIFORNIA BALANCED BUDGET ACT. Requires the enactment of a balanced budget, addresses fiscal emergencies, and establishes a budget reserve. Fiscal Impact: Net state fiscal effects unknown and will vary by year, depending in part on actions of future legislatures. Reserve provisions may smooth state spending, with reductions during economic expansions and increases during downturns. Provisions requiring balanced budgets and limiting deficit borrowing could result in more immediate actions to correct budgetary shortfalls.

34 8-004

End of Ballot

Ballot Type - 053 Pg. 7

Taken as a whole, California voters tend to be moderates, and radical ideas have not done well in recent years when stapled into a ballot initiative. Prop. 56 contained a radical idea — that the current requirement that two-thirds of the Legislature approve the state budget ought to be reduced to 55 percent to make it easier for lawmakers to meet the constitutional deadline for passing a budget. It also would have lowered the threshold for raising taxes to the same 55 percent.

Even the proponents who pushed Prop. 56 — the state Democratic Party and wealthy allies such as the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), school and state employee unions and the California Teachers' Association — must have thought that the measure's main premise was too radical, because their campaign ignored it.

Instead, proponents focused on another, more punitive provision: the requirement that the governor and lawmakers permanently forfeit salary and per diem for every day the budget is late, starting with the constitutional deadline of June 15. To hammer that notion into voters' minds, proponents had to create a villain, someone or something that deserved to be punished.

They chose one of their friends — the Legislature, both houses of which are controlled by Democrats.

Opponents, led by the state Chamber of Commerce and the California Business Roundtable, couldn't have been happier with that choice.

And so the central message of this very peculiar campaign was eerily similar from both camps: the Legislature is gridlocked because lawmakers are a bunch of nincompoops. The most memorable television ad — aired by the "Yes" campaign — featured a food fight on the floor of the Legislature and implored voters to end this foolish behavior by punishing lawmakers with Prop. 56.

The "No" campaign merely had to agree — not with the notion of passing Prop. 56 but with the portrait of the Legislature as a bunch of juveniles. Opponents then reminded voters that Prop. 56 lowered the threshold for raising taxes as well as for passing a budget and asked the question: "Do you want to give the Legislature a blank check?"

Voters, loathe to adopt a radical idea in the first place, answered that question emphatically on Election Day. Prop. 56 lost in every California county save one — San Francisco. The campaign itself was outrageously lavish, with proponents spending $9 million to fashion the message and opponents spending another $7 million to agree with it.

— *A. G. Block*

Propositions 57 & 58: Recovery Bond/Balanced Budget

California voters, heeding Republican Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, trooped to the polls on March 2 and whipped out their credit card. They overwhelmingly approved borrowing $15 billion to cover some of the debts that former Gov. Gray Davis, the Legislature and Schwarzenegger have jointly run up over the past three years. It'll take the state up to 14 years to pay the money back, but the Republican Schwarzenegger and most of the state's top Democratic politicians declared the bonds were a great way to get enough money to pay off short-term debts that will become due at mid-year — and avoid the politically painful necessity of making deep cuts or raising taxes. Voters agreed nearly 2-1, handing Schwarzenegger a major political victory, tarnished only by the lowest turnout for a presidential primary in California's history. Fewer than four in 10 of California voters bothered to cast ballots.

The voters' decision on Prop. 57 means California will float the largest municipal bond offering in the nation's history — a huge borrowing by a state that has the lowest credit rating in the nation.

Voters also approved a companion measure, Prop. 58, a largely symbolic device that requires the state budget, as signed by the governor, to be balanced. Previously, only the budget proposed by the governor in January was required to be balanced, meaning that the governor and lawmakers couldn't spend more than they took in. Proposition 58, however, requires, the *final* budget document to be in balance. That balancing act is illusory, however, since nothing in Prop. 58 bars lawmakers and the governor from borrowing money or raising taxes to bring new money into the state's treasury.

The real teeth in Prop. 58 may be in its emergency reserve rule: Beginning in 2006, it requires the state to set aside money each year for emergencies — up to 3 percent of the General Fund after 2008-09.

Wall Street, always skittish, is watching California closely and, thus far, its reviews are mixed. Although encouraged that California is finally acting on its budget conundrum, Wall Street is exasperated that the state has, again, postponed the tough decisions on taxes, cuts or both. Moreover, the state faces a permanent, systemic budget hole of $7 billion in 2005-06 and beyond, according to Legislative Analyst Elizabeth Hill, and nothing the Legislature and governor have proposed begins to address that shortage.

The reaction, however, from more than three dozen cities was not mixed at all: They complained, loudly, that the bonds will be paid off in part with some $1.3 billion in sales tax money that currently flows to local governments. The 38 municipalities — 31 charter cities and 7 general law cities — filed a lawsuit targeting the bond's repayment plan and are hoping to retain the sales tax flow.

"This simply forces cutbacks in local services and possibly fee and tax increases at the local level," according to the League of California Cities.

The bonds themselves are likely to go to market within the next 10 weeks under the stewardship of Democratic Treasurer Phil Angelides, who by law is responsible for the state's bond sales. There is irony here: Angelides hates the bonds, urged voters to reject them and even bought TV time to defeat them. Angelides is running for governor in 2006 against Schwarzenegger, and the bonds may wind up being the centerpiece of his campaign.

Despite their magnitude, the bonds won't fully resolve California's budget mess, which means the governor and Legislature will have to agree on some form of cuts or new taxes to balance the books, unless they decide to borrow more money.

The state's biggest single fiscal problem is the hole created by Schwarzenegger's decision to lower California's vehicle license fees. Although popular with the public, the decision cost the state $7 billion — or roughly half of the state's entire load of red ink — by reducing revenue about $2.7 billion for 2003-04 and more than $4 billion for the 2004-05 fiscal year beginning July 1. In his campaign on behalf of Props. 57 and 58, Schwarzenegger repeatedly referred to the problems he inherited from former Gov. Davis, and his top aides use the term "inherited debt" to describe California's budget dilemma. However, Schwarzenegger rarely mentions the $7 billion in red ink created by his repeal of the increase in vehicle license fees.

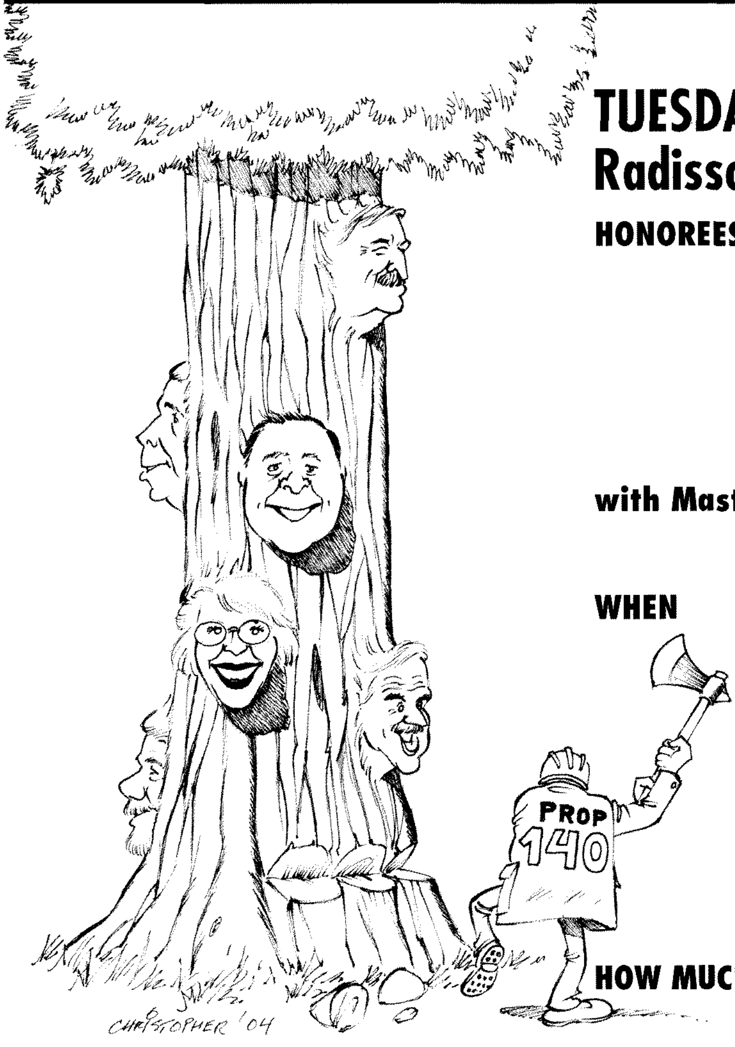
Officials in Hill's office, which provides nonpartisan fiscal advice to the Legislature, say the bonds will provide about $5 billion in "budget solutions." This figure is $5 billion instead of $15 billion because the budget already assumes the use of $10 billion in bonds approved by for Gov. Gray Davis and the Legislature. That bond sale was challenged in the courts as illegal because the public didn't vote on it.

From this month through June 30, 2005, California has roughly $17 billion budget hole, a figure that represents the plight of the state's finances over time if lawmakers and the governor do nothing to resolve the current budget problems. Prop. 57 will whittle that figure to about $12 billion — $17 billion minus the $5 billion in new money provided by the bonds. That means Schwarzenegger and the Legislature must come up with $12 billion over the next 14 months, either in the form of savings, new revenue or some combination of the two.

— *John Howard*

SPECIAL EDITION!

The California ROAST TURNS DOWN THE HEAT TO PAY TRIBUTE TO SIX GIANTS SERVING THEIR LAST POSSIBLE YEAR



TUESDAY JUNE 1, 2004
Radisson Hotel Sacramento

HONOREES Senate President pro Tempore John Burton
Senate Republican Leader Jim Brulte
Senator Ross Johnson
Senator John Vasconcellos
Senator Dede Alpert
Senator Byron Sher

with Master of Ceremonies
Former Speaker/SF Mayor Willie Brown

WHEN 6:00pm - Reception, Jazz Combo
7:30pm - Dinner
8:30pm - Program

HOW MUCH Sponsor: Reserved Table for Ten: $1,750
Patron: Reserved Half-Table for Five: $875
Individual Tickets: Open Seating: $175

Proceeds from the event benefit CAPITOL FOCUS, a non-profit, non-partisan political awareness program serving a cross-section of California youth. Contributions are tax deductible to full extent allowed by the law. (Federal ID #23 718-2049).

CAPITOL FOCUS

CALL NOW TO RESERVE SEATS 916-443-2229

CONGRESS

DISTRICT 1 (45% D – 31% R – 16% DS)

Thompson (D*)	**84,067**	**100**
Wiesner (R)	**44,390**	**100**
Elizondo (G)	**2,177**	**55**
Meyers (G)	1,820	46

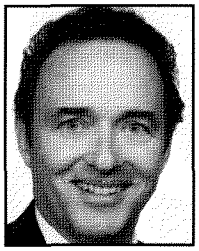
DISTRICT 2 (34% D – 46% R – 14% DS)

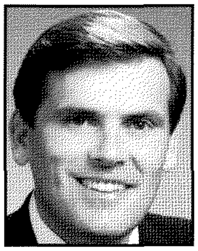
Johnson (D)	**19,078**	**44**
Sekhon (D)	13,082	30
Vance (D)	10,914	25
Herger (R*)	**72,022**	**100**

DISTRICT 3 (36% D – 45% R – 15% DS)

Castillo (D)	**40,950**	**100**
Frankhuizen (R)	1,338	2
Lungren (R)	**28,348**	**39**
Oller (R)	26,740	36
M.Ose (R)	17,277	23
Tuma (L)	**544**	**100**

Blecch. What a peculiar, expensive and grubby primary this turned out to be among the foothills and suburbs that surround Sacramento. Not only was it creepy, but it went on longer than anyone wanted because the results on Election Day were too close to call and the final tally wasn't declared until a week later when absentee ballots had been counted in Sacramento Co. At the outset, the primary featured four Republicans who jumped into the fray when the current incumbent, Republican Doug Ose, decided to retire. Of the four, three had political heft: former Atty. Gen. Dan Lungren, the 1998 GOP nominee for governor and a one-time Long Beach-area congressman; Mary Ose, sister of the incumbent with a personal fortune at her disposal; and state Sen. Rico Oller, who has become something of a political werewolf. Every time an election rolls around, he turns vicious and snarling. Lungren entered the contest as the candidate to beat but quickly fell to the status of underdog because his campaign was underfunded and mostly silent until the final weeks before Election Day. By contrast, both Oller and Ose raised more than $1 million, Oller backed by conservative groups and Ose by the contents of her coin purse. The financial disparity showed up on airwaves and in mailboxes where Ose and Oller pickled each other while Lungren scrambled for free media. He was able to do this by tailgating on a pair of issues — prodding his successor, Atty. Gen. Bill Lockyer, to stop gay marriages and his being named co-chair of the effort to pass the governor's recovery bond (Prop. 57). Lungren finally was able to go up with television ads during the final two weeks, airing positive spots that touted his record as a member of Congress during the 1980s. By then, the positive tenor of Lungren's advertising contrasted vividly with the muck slung by Ose and Oller. Oller, in particular, took the campaign to its low point with a mailer attacking Lungren's 1986 support for a bill granting citizenship to illegal immigrants, even though the bill had been signed by Pres. Ronald Reagan. The mailer used pictures of a turbaned man holding a gun and Mexicans jumping a border fence. *The Sacramento Bee*, among others, labeled the mailer as racist, and Lungren enlisted the help of former House Spkr. Newt Gingrich to refute the charges. Oller later accused Ose of failing to pay taxes and cited tax liens filed against her by the Franchise Tax Board. The charge proved to be something of a distortion since the liens resulted after Ose challenged the size of a tax refund, which she claimed was too small. Oller's hit piece brought Ose's brother into the fray with a letter to voters calling Oller a liar. The Ose campaign then reminded Republicans that Oller had been accused of beating his wife some 15 years ago — a charge that prompted Oller and his wife to run radio and TV ads smoothing over the incident. Ose also sprayed ooze at both Oller and Lungren after the pair engaged in a verbal brawl during a radio debate, then stood by while an animal-rights group ran ads thumping Oller for cruelty to animals, citing his hobby of hunting bears with dogs. And so it went, spiraling ever downward. At the end, Lungren's final ad push, with its positive message, worked to solidify his base in the vote-rich Sacramento suburbs and to remind voters about his record as a public official. He also was able to underscore the fact that he was *not* Rico Oller, a notion reinforced on the final weekend when popular conservative talk-show host Tom Sullivan endorsed Lungren. As expected, Oller ran extremely well in the mountain and foothill counties that he serves as a legislator, scoring impressive victories in Alpine, Amador and Calaveras counties. Unfortunately, most district voters reside in Sacramento Co., which gave Lungren a 6,000-vote margin — enough to offset Oller's strength in the mountains. Ose, for all her money, finished a distant third after polls showed her neck-and-neck with Oller only weeks before the election.


Lungren


Oller

DISTRICT 4 (31% D – 49% R – 15% DS)

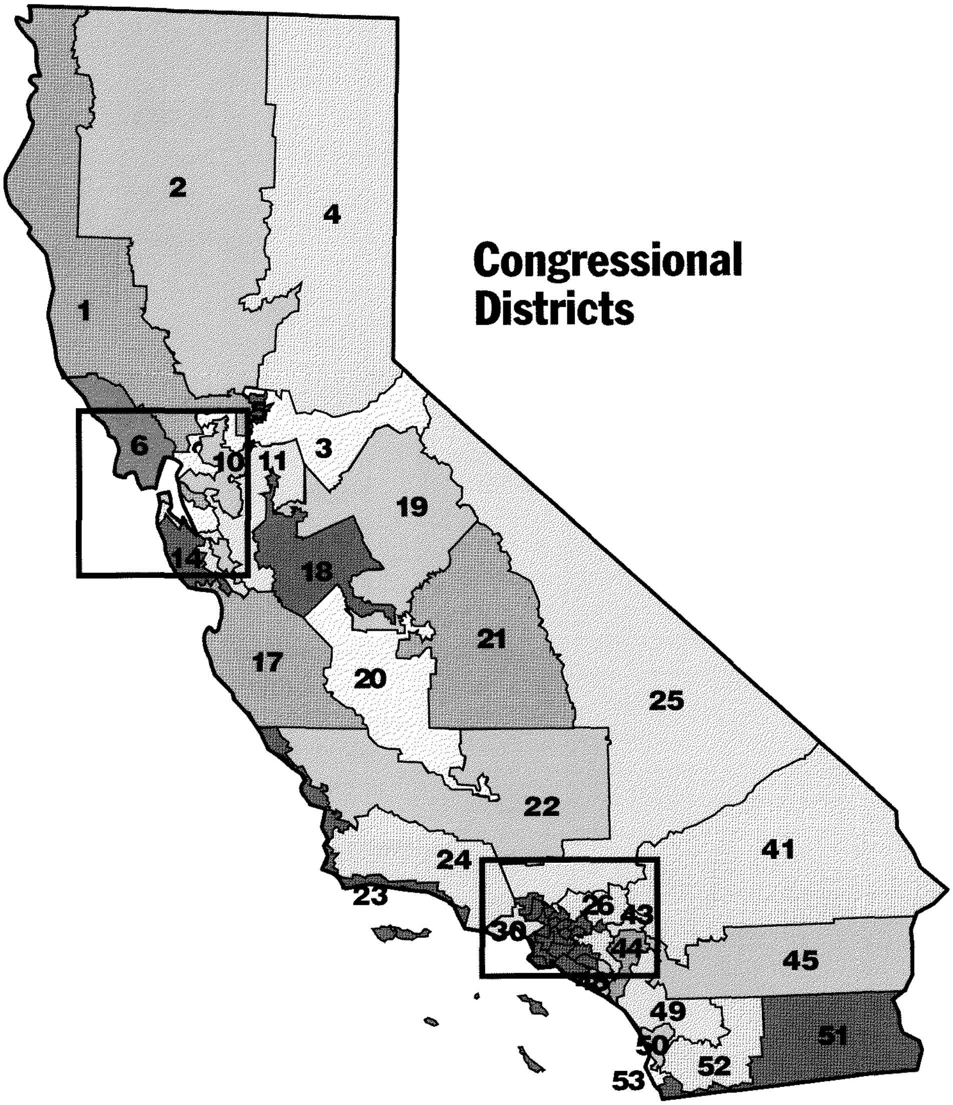
Winters (D)	**53,216**	**100**
Doolittle (R*)	**94,435**	**100**

DISTRICT 5 (51% D – 26% R – 17% DS)

Matsui (D*)	**48,877**	**100**
Dugas (R)	**20,862**	**100**
Driscoll (G)	**859**	**100**
Reiger (PF)	**166**	**100**

DISTRICT 6 (50% D – 27% R – 17% DS)

Vara (D)	16,638	16
Woolsey (D*)	**87,228**	**84**
Erickson (R)	**38,311**	**100**



DISTRICT 7 (56% D – 24% R – 16% DS)

Miller (D*)	**64,761**	**100**
Hargrave (R)	**21,882**	**100**

DISTRICT 8 (54% D – 12% R – 27% DS)

Pelosi (D*)	**80,995**	**100**
DePalma (R)	**7,555**	**100**
Dowell (PF)	**236**	**100**

DISTRICT 9 (62% D – 11% R – 19% DS)

Lee (D*)	**91,100**	**100**
Bermudez (R)	**10,182**	**100**
Eyer (L)	**376**	**100**

DISTRICT 10 (45% D – 35% R – 15% DS)

Tauscher (D*)	**68,554**	**100**
Ketelson (R)	**41,125**	**100**

DISTRICT 11 (37% D – 47% R – 13% DS)

Pombo (R*)	**58,965**	**100**

DISTRICT 12 (51% D – 23% R – 22% DS)

Abu-Ghazalah (D)	5,084	7
Khanna (D)	14,836	20
Lantos (D*)	**55,577**	**74**
Garza (R)	**12,431**	**55**
Huskins (R)	10,016	45
Gray (G)	**973**	**70**
Hermanson (G)	421	30
Harrison (L)	**350**	**100**

There was some concern when 12-term incumbent Tom Lantos drew a pair of primary opponents. As it turns out, that concerned was misplaced.

DISTRICT 13 (53% D – 22% R – 21% DS)

Stark (D*)	**53,662**	**100**
Bruno (R)	**17,575**	**100**
Stroberg (L)	**353**	**100**

DISTRICT 14 (45% D – 29% R – 21% DS)

Eshoo (D*)	**68,417**	**100**
Haugen (R)	**28,318**	**100**
Holtz (L)	**757**	**100**

DISTRICT 15 (44% D – 30% R – 22% DS)

Honda (D*)	**47,277**	**100**
Chukwu (R)	**21,771**	**100**

DISTRICT 16 (48% D – 27% R – 21% DS)

Lofgren (D*)	**39,799**	**100**
McNea (R)	**15,950**	**100**
Welch (L)	**293**	**100**

DISTRICT 17 (49% D – 29% R – 16% DS)

Dunn (D)	5,618	9
Farr (D*)	**56,936**	**91**
Risley (R)	20,048	74
Vlakancic (R)	6,911	26
Glock-Grueneuch (G)	**1,427**	**100**
Smolen (L)	**420**	**100**
Williams (PF)	**118**	**100**

DISTRICT 18 (49% D – 39% R – 9% DS)

Cardoza (D*)	**36,935**	**100**
Pringle (R)	**15,682**	**68**
Redmond (R)	7,292	32

This is the Central Valley, and freshman Democrat Dennis Cardoza can't take anything for granted. But Cardoza should have an easier election season than two years ago when he defeated then-incumbent Democrat Gary Condit in a high-profile primary and Republican state Sen. Dick Monteith in a tough and expensive general election.

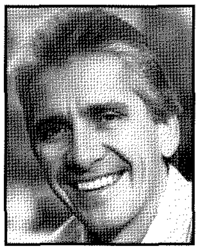
DISTRICT 19 (37% D – 48% R – 11% DS)

Bufford (D)	**36,149**	**100**
Radanovich (R*)	**61,873**	**100**
Mullen (G)	**469**	**100**

DISTRICT 20 (51% D – 37% R – 9% DS)

Costa (D)	**22,068**	**73**
Quigley (D)	8,046	27
Ashburn (R)	**14,172**	**80**
Martorana (R)	3,597	20

Democrat Cal Dooley's retirement after 14 years in Congress created a primary between former state Sen. Jim Costa and Lisa Lynn Quigley, Dooley's

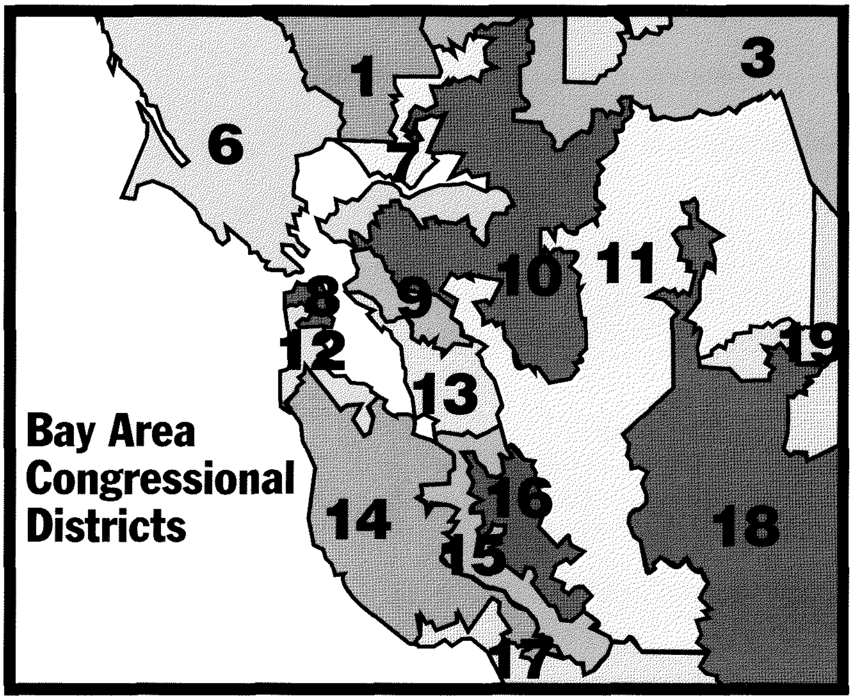


Costa

Quigley

Ashburn

one-time chief of staff. Quigley, a Central Valley native who spent most of her professional career in Washington, D.C., had wanted a campaign that echoed Thomas Wolfe's opus, "Look Homeward, Angel." Instead, the result took its theme from another Wolfe novel — "You Can't Go Home Again." The contrast between the candidates was stark. These days, the white-haired Costa looks like someone central casting might cough up to portray a congressman in the remake of "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." His legislative career, which began when Quigley was a Merced preteen, spanned 24 years and included stints in both the Assembly and Senate. In 2001, he served a year as chairman of the National Conference of State Legislatures. Quigley, on the other hand, has no elective experience and moved to Fresno less than a year ago specifically to run for this seat. That was a message the Costa campaign hammered at voters, defining its opponent as a youthful carpetbagger. Quigley went heavily negative at the end, reminding voters that Costa had once been arrested for soliciting a prostitute and been caught with marijuana plants in his Fresno home. Although she defended her attacks as matters of character, the ads earned Quigley a strong rebuke from U.S. Rep. Dennis Cardoza, who represents a neighboring district. Quigley lost badly in all three counties that make up the district — Kern, Fresno and Kings. On the Republican side, state Sen. Roy Ashburn, a Kern Co. conservative, breezed past his opponent to set up an intriguing race this fall.



DISTRICT 21 (35% D – 50% R – 11% DS)

Davis (D)	**27,746**	**100**
Nunes (R*)	**50,879**	**100**

DISTRICT 22 (30% D – 53% R – 15% DS)

Thomas (R*)	**72,311**	**100**

Democrats didn't even show up to take on Bill Thomas, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

DISTRICT 23 (43% D – 34% R – 17% DS)

Capps (D*)	**55,447**	**100**
Regan (R)	**37,962**	**100**
Favorite (L)	**436**	**100**

Libertarian Michael Favorite isn't.

DISTRICT 24 (34% D – 46% R – 15% DS)

Wagner (D)	**42,401**	**100**
Gallegly (R*)	**69,175**	**100**
Bechman (G)	**651**	**100**

DISTRICT 25 (35% D – 46% R – 15% DS)

Conaway (D)	11,164	44
Willoughby (D)	**14,125**	**56**
McKeon (R*)	**42,719**	**100**

DISTRICT 26 (34% D – 47% R – 16% DS)

Johnson (D)	12,143	38
Matthews (D)	**19,534**	**62**
Dreier (R*)	**48,446**	**84**
Sardo (R)	9,538	16
Weissbuch (L)	**322**	**100**

House Rules Committee Chairman David Dreier had an opponent. Not a challenge, just an opponent.

DISTRICT 27 (48% D – 31% R – 16% DS)

Sherman (D*)	**37,291**	**100**
Levy (R)	**23,329**	**100**
Carter (G)	**307**	**100**

DISTRICT 28 (57% D – 21% R – 17% DS)

Berman (D*)	**31,160**	**82**
Coleman (D)	6,790	18
Hernandez (R)	**10,530**	**100**
Ross (L)	**199**	**100**

DISTRICT 29 (44% D – 34% R – 18% DS)

Schiff (D*)	**36,356**	**100**
Bodell (R)	7,411	28
Scolinos (R)	**15,424**	**59**
Torchizy (R)	3,460	13
Koebel (G)	**377**	**100**
Brown (L)	**270**	**100**

DISTRICT 30 (51% D – 27% R – 18% DS)

Waxman (D*)	**70,172**	**100**
Elizalde (R)	**26,217**	**100**

DISTRICT 31 (59% D – 17% R – 18% DS)

Becerra (D*)	**23,441**	**90**
Evans (D)	2,735	10
Vega (R)	**5,113**	**100**

DISTRICT 32 (52% D – 27% R – 17% DS)

Solis (D*)	**26,290**	**100**
Faegre (L)	**84**	**100**

DISTRICT 33 (66% D – 13% R – 16% DS)

Watson (D*)	**45,355**	**100**
Weber (L)	**162**	**100**

DISTRICT 34 (60% D – 20% R – 15% DS)

Roybal-Allard (D*)	**20,389**	**100**
Miller (R)	**6,955**	**100**

DISTRICT 35 (68% D – 14% R – 13% DS)

Waters (D*)	**37,534**	**100**
Moen (R)	**6,933**	**100**
Mego (AI)	**264**	**100**
Tate (L)	**90**	**100**

DISTRICT 36 (44% D – 34% R – 18% DS)

Harman (D*)	**43,468**	**100**
Davis (R)	8,530	31
Leslie (R)	7,210	26
Whitehead (R)	**11,957**	**43**
Binkley (L)	**420**	**100**
Stek (PF)	**113**	**100**

DISTRICT 37 (61% D – 19% R – 14% DS)

Mathews (D)	6,014	16
Millender-McDonald (D*)	**24,193**	**65**
Robles (D)	6,953	19
Van (R)	**9,075**	**100**
Peters (L)	**166**	**100**

DISTRICT 38 (58% D – 23% R – 15% DS)

Manzo (D)	6,389	21
Napolitano (D*)	**24,099**	**79**

DISTRICT 39 (53% D – 28% R – 15% DS)

Sanchez, Linda (D*)	**27,884**	**100**
Escobar (R)	**16,740**	**100**

DISTRICT 40 (33% D – 47% R – 15% DS)

Avalos (D)	14,845	48
Williams (D)	**16,032**	**52**
Royce (R*)	**55,636**	**100**

DISTRICT 41 (33% D – 50% R – 12% DS)

Lewis (R*)	**56,672**	**100**
Mottahedek (L)	**417**	**100**

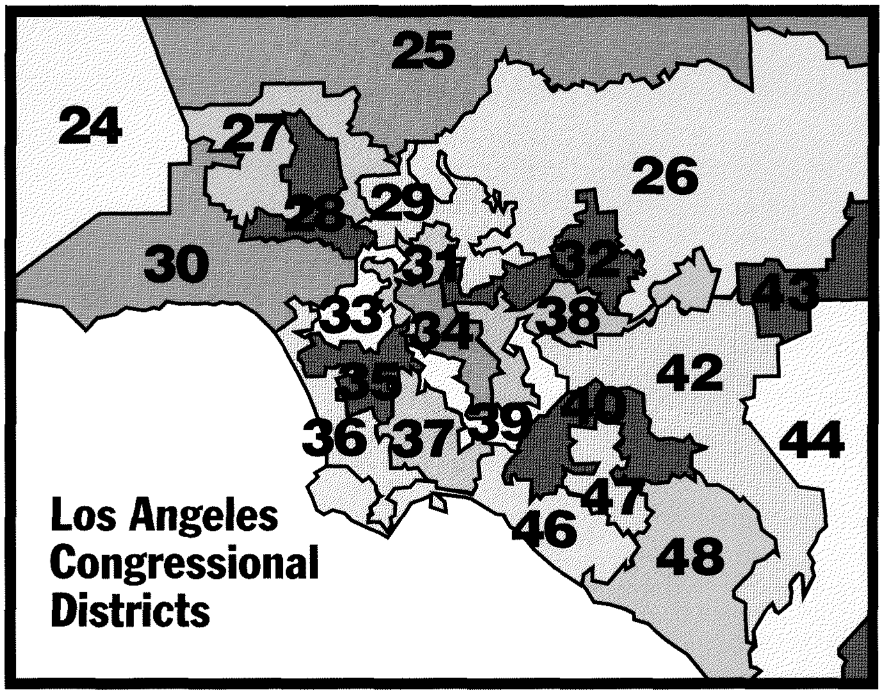
DISTRICT 42 (29% D – 51% R – 16% DS)

Myers (D)	**26,810**	**100**
Miller (R*)	**58,838**	**100**

DISTRICT 43 (51% D – 33% R – 12% DS)

Baca (D*)	**25,229**	**100**
Laning (R)	**12,267**	**100**

Democrat Joe Baca spent most of this election season helping his son win a Democratic primary for the Assembly. He'll probably spend the rest of the year ensuring that Joe Jr. wins the general election as well.



DISTRICT 44 (32% D – 50% R – 14% DS)

Vandenberg (D)	**30,206**	**100**
Calvert (R*)	**43,954**	**86**
Rizzo (R)	7,334	14
Akin (PF)	**84**	**100**

DISTRICT 45 (35% D – 49% R – 12% DS)

Lockhart (D)	10,124	29
Meyer (D)	**24,561**	**71**
Barker (R)	7,530	14
Bono (R*)	**46,174**	**86**

DISTRICT 46 (31% D – 48% R – 16% DS)

Brandt (D)	**19,700**	**49**
Nguyen (D)	12,932	32
Wilkins (D)	7,566	19
Dornan (R)	12,195	17
Rohrabacher (R*)	**61,692**	**84**
Lash (G)	**537**	**100**
Gann (L)	**649**	**100**

Former GOP Congressman Bob Dornan's comeback was mashed by incumbent Dana Rohrabacher.

DISTRICT 47 (47% D – 33% R – 16% DS)

Sanchez, Loretta (D*)	**20,607**	**100**
Coronado (R)	**10,564**	**59**
Nickell (R)	7,417	41

DISTRICT 48 (27% D – 52% R – 17% DS)

Graham (D)	**35,665**	**100**
Cox (R*)	**75,247**	**100**
Cohen (L)	**656**	**100**

DISTRICT 49 (29% D – 51% R – 16% DS)

Byron (D)	**28,044**	**100**
Issa (R*)	**55,696**	**100**
Grossmith (L)	**446**	**100**

DISTRICT 50 (30% D – 46% R – 19% DS)

Busby (D)	**40,004**	**100**
Cunningham (R*)	**67,752**	**100**
Templin (AI)	**855**	**100**
Waayers (G)	**566**	**100**
Osborne (L)	**665**	**100**

DISTRICT 51 (48% D – 31% R – 17% DS)

Filner (D*)	**28,108**	**76**
Ramirez (D)	8,707	24
Garcia (R)	7,398	30
Giorgino (R)	**16,942**	**70**
Metti (L)	**181**	**100**

DISTRICT 52 (31% D – 47% R – 17% DS)

Keliher (D)	**35,765**	**100**
Hunter (R*)	**69,212**	**100**
Benoit (L)	**570**	**100**

DISTRICT 53 (41% D – 32% R – 21% DS)

Davis (D*)	**46,237**	**100**
Hunzeker (R)	**25,452**	**100**
Rockwood (G)	**854**	**100**
Susteren (L)	**583**	**100**

— A.G. Block

Independent Expenditure Committees

Many legislative races in the March 2 primary were fueled in part by independent expenditures from groups whose names are high-sounding, if a bit arcane. As the term suggests, independent expenditure campaigns must be conducted "independent" of the candidate they support. Groups conducting IE efforts are not bound by contribution limits — they can collect unlimited money from contributors and spend unlimited funds in a particular district race. Listed below is a sampling of groups that pumped money into various campaigns during the March primary, their contributors and the candidates who benefited. (* = primary winner)

Alliance for California's Tomorrow:
Contributors: Coalition of business and labor
Beneficiaries: Manny Diaz (D-SD 13); Joe Coto* (D-AD 23)

California Alliance:
Contributors: Trial lawyers; nurses; League of Conservation Voters; firefighters
Beneficiaries: Joe Carcione (D-AD 21); Tom Umberg* (D-AD 69); Arlie Ricasa (D-AD 78)

Californians for Civil Justice Reform:
Contributors: Ameriquest Capital; insurance companies; Intel; consulting engineers; Edison International; ChevronTexaco; Caterpillar.
Beneficiaries: John Barton (D-AD 21); Claudia Alvarez (D-AD 69)

California Latino Alliance:
Contributors: Duke Energy; Aladdin Bail Bonds; teachers; Assn. of American Publishers; Western Manufactured Housing Assn.; Time Warner; California Forestry Assn.; Glaxosmith Kline; EDS; Southern California Edison; Sempra Energy
Beneficiary: Claudia Alvarez (D-AD 69)

California Republican Assembly:
Contributors: Fieldstead and Company; Pechanga Band of Mission Indians; Barona Band of Mission Indians; William Dohr, Corona del Mar; James Holman, Coronado; Family Action PAC
Beneficiaries: Jim Gibson (R-AD 73); Bill Stamps (R-AD 76); Ernie Konnyu* (R-AD 24); Elia Pirozzi (R-AD 63); Charles DeVore* (R-AD 70)

California Senior Action Network:
Contributors: Realtors; automobile dealers; retailers
Beneficiaries: Elaine Alquist* (D-SD 13); Claudia Alvarez (D-AD 69)

Californians United:
Contributors: Indian gaming tribes; Southern California Edison; Nations Capital Group, Westlake Village; Philip Morris; Don McCoy Corporation, Dana Point; RBF Consulting, Irvine; PG&E; Diageo, Connecticut.
Beneficiary: Hector de la Torre* (D-AD 50)

CAP/TRUST:
Contributors: Doctors and medical groups
Beneficiaries: Jim Leddy (D-AD 7); Henry Manayan (D-AD 20); Bill Emmerson* (R-AD 63)

Citizens for a Better California:
Contributors: No listed contributors
Beneficiary: Joe Simitian* (D-SD 11)

Inland Empire Citizens Committee:
Contributors: Colonies Crossroads, Rancho Cucamonga; Urban Advisors, Rancho Cucamonga; LDC Cougar, Upland
Beneficiary: Elia Pirozzi (R-AD 63)

JOBSPAC:
Contributors: PG&E; Kraft Foods; Southern California Edison; Sempra Energy; Pacific Telesis; American Insurance Assn; Farm Bureau Federation; Intel; California Restaurant Assn.
Beneficiaries: Claudia Alvarez (D-AD 69); Tom Umberg* (D-AD 69); Dennis Hayashi (D-AD 20)

Moderate Democrats for California:
Contributors: Insurance companies; Indian gaming tribes; realtors; developers; PG&E; Boeing; auto dealers; bankers; race tracks
Beneficiaries: Albert Torrico* (D-AD 20); Claudia Alvarez (D-AD 69); Vince Hall (D-AD 76); John Barton (D-AD 21); Joe Coto* (D-AD 23); Juan Arambula* (D-AD 31)

Neighborhoods United:
Contributors: Los Angeles-area labor organizations
Beneficiary: Karen Bass* (D-AD 47)

New Majority PAC:
Contributors: Moderate Orange County Republicans.
Beneficiaries: Cristi Cristich (R-AD 70); Mimi Walters* (R-AD 73)

Northern Californians for a Strong Economy:
Contributors: R.B. Wooley, La Jolla; Donald Fisher, Sam Francisco; John Walton, Arkansas; college faculty and school employees unions; Time Warner; Microsoft; Reed Hastings, San Francisco.
Beneficiary: Ted Lempert (D-SD 11)

Preserving California's Diversity:
Contributor: Pacific Telesis
Beneficiary: Lauren Hammond (D-AD 9)

Working Taxpayers of California:
Contributors: None listed
Beneficiary: Ken Maddox (R-SD 35)

STATE SENATE

DISTRICT 1 (33% D – 48% R - 15% DS)

Dollison (D)	23,580	35
McDonald (D)	**43,618**	**65**
Cox (R)	**81,442**	**75**
Schneider (R)	27,787	25
Liebman (L)	**857**	**100**

Given district registration, Former Assembly GOP honcho Dave Cox now heads to the Senate, replacing Republican Rico Oller, who lost a congressional primary to Dan Lungren.

DISTRICT 3 (53% D – 18% R – 22% DS)

Jones (D)	18,303	15
Migden (D)	**101,426**	**85**
Felder (R)	**30,684**	**100**
Rhodes (L)	**704**	**100**
Grimes (PF)	**287**	**100**

This San Francisco district is losing one powerhouse with the departure of Sen. Pres. pro Tem John Burton. Another is arriving, however, in the presence of Board of Equalization chair Carole Migden.

DISTRICT 5 (45% D – 37% R – 13% DS)

Machado (D*)	***62,996***	***100***
Podesto (R)	**45,228**	**100**

A very quiet primary heralds the onset of a very noisy and expensive fall race between incumbent Democrat Mike Machado and Republican Gary Podesto, the mayor of Stockton.

DISTRICT 7 (47% D – 34% R – 15% DS)

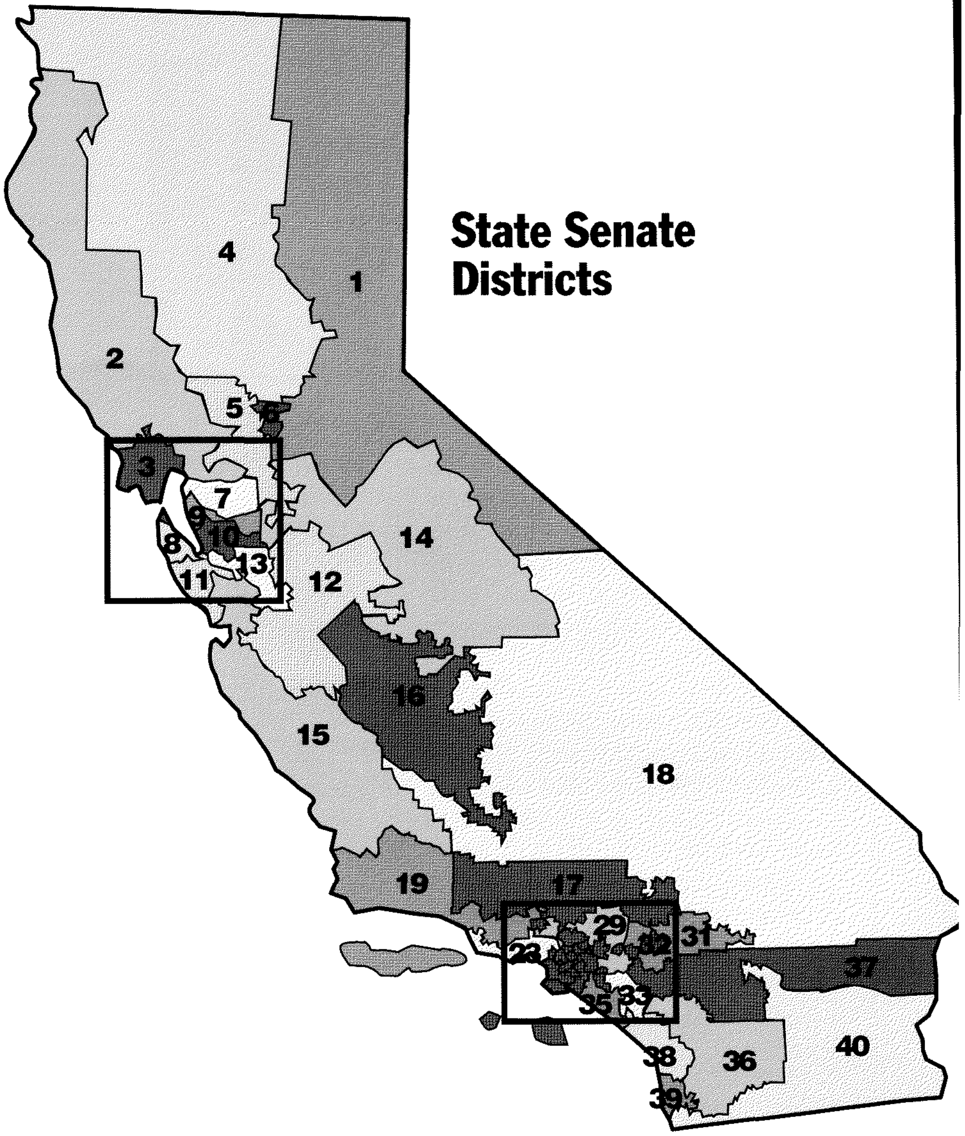
Torlakson (D*)	**96,837**	**100**

Will Tom Torlakson survive? It's the burning question on everyone's mind.

DISTRICT 9 (59% D – 14% R – 19% DS)

Perata (D*)	**100,438**	**100**
Deutsche (R)	***19,247***	***100***
Von Pinnon (L)	**500**	**100**
Condit (PF)	**240**	**100**

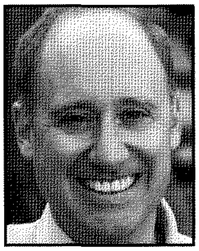
Incumbent Democrat Don Perata has problems these days, thanks to questionable ties to a consulting company owned by a pal. It won't bother his re-election, but it might scuttle his attempt to become pro tem.

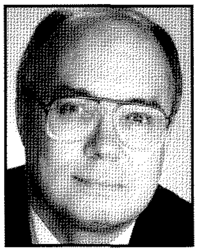


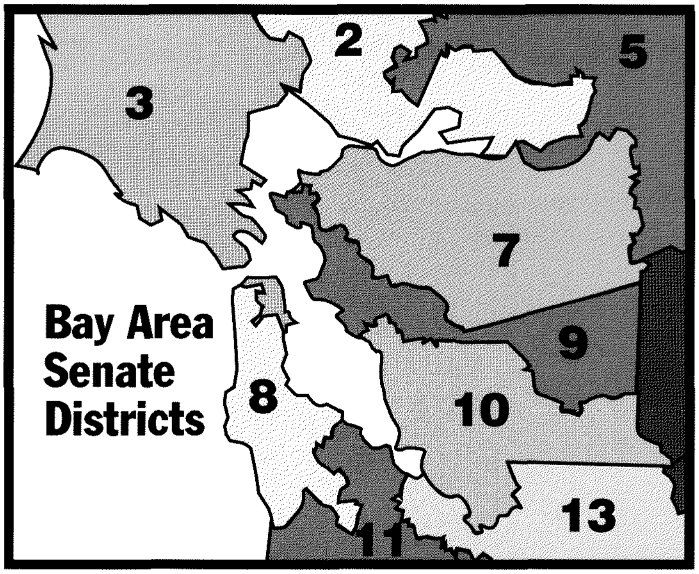
DISTRICT 11 (47% D – 28% R – 20% DS)

Lempert (D)	40,578	43
Simitian (D)	54,443	57
Zellhoeffer (R)	**35,443**	**100**
Rice (L)	**913**	**100**

The termed-out departure of longtime legislator Byron Sher set up a tense and expensive Democratic primary between two candidates who varied not an inch on issues — Assm. Joe Simitian and former Assm. Ted Lempert. Each had built a strong legislative record and both are devoted to education and the environment. Both served in local government, Simitian on the Palo Alto school board, city council and as a Santa Clara Co. supervisor; Lempert on the San Mateo Co. Board of Supervisors. Issues and experience were mostly off the table as


Lempert


Simitian

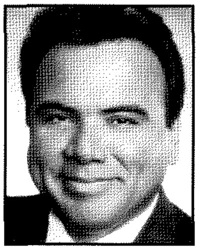


the two jockeyed and jostled for votes and support. Nor was money a problem, as both had stuffed treasuries and IE support. If anything, the IEs themselves became issues, with Lempert hitting Simitian over support from the powerful and controversial prison guards' union, the California Correctional Peace Officers' Assn. Simitian criticized Lempert for signing a pledge to limit campaign spending, then watching as IE groups directed more than $200,000 into the race on his behalf. Included were sizeable contributions from Northern Californians for a Strong Economy — a group linked to Supt. of Public Instruction Jack O'Connell, who endorsed Lempert. In the end, Simitian's victory came down to geography. Twice as many voters reside in his Santa Clara Co. base than in Lempert's home in San Mateo Co. The key for Lempert became Santa Cruz Co., where some 25,000 Democratic votes were at stake. But Simitian out-hustled him there, nailing down support from locals like Santa Cruz Mayor Scott Kennedy and the People's Democratic Club. The difference showed on Election Day where Simitian scored an impressive victory, gaining 60% of the Santa Cruz vote. Simitian also buried Lempert in Santa Clara Co., carrying his base by 11,000 votes. Lempert won San Mateo, but the 2,000-vote margin was not nearly enough to offset losses elsewhere.

DISTRICT 13 (49% D – 24% R – 22% DS)

Alquist (D)	**28,660**	**50**
M.Diaz (D)	26,316	46
Medeiros (D)	2,443	4
Connolly (R)	**17,147**	**85**
A.Diaz (R)	3,061	15
Laursen (L)	276	50
Webster (L)	275	50

Alquist


Diaz

Former Assm. Elaine Alquist parlayed a well-known last name and a larger home base into a new career as a state senator, besting Assm. Manny Diaz in a close and expensive race to succeed the termed-out dean of the Senate, John Vasconcellos, who endorsed Alquist. The race was marred by sleazy and misleading ads by both camps, and by healthy IE campaigns. The prison guards, for instance, dumped more than $150,000 into the district on behalf of Alquist. Realtors also helped her, while teachers and Indian gaming tribes ponied up for Diaz. Alquist biggest advantage, however, was ground: There are more voters in her old 21st Assembly district than in Diaz' 22nd district, and he was unable to make significant inroads in an area she had served from 1997 until termed out in 2002. She also had the advantage of her last name, which she shares with one of the area's most legendary politicians, who also happens to be her husband — former state Sen. Al Alquist, now 95. As the contest intensified, so did the negative rhetoric and accusations. In one memorable incident, the Diaz camp sent out a mailer that made a *San Jose Mercury News* editorial look as though it had been put through a Vega-matic. The mailer suggested that the paper criticized Alquist when it actually had endorsed her. The editorial reserved its main criticism for Diaz, but that piece had been conveniently sliced away.

DISTRICT 15 (38% D – 40% R – 17% DS)

Pinard (D)	**61,319**	**100**
Maldonado (R)	**69,020**	**100**
Madsen (G)	**1,226**	**100**

District 17 (36% D – 46% R – 14% DS)

Kraut (D)	**34,702**	**100**
Runner (R)	**58,607**	**100**
Ballard (L)	**526**	**100**

Former GOP Assm. George Runner moves to the Senate to replace Pete Knight. With his wife already in the Assembly, the Runners become the Legislature's first husband-wife team.

DISTRICT 19 35% D – 43% R – 16% DS)

Graber (D)	**62,090**	**100**
McClintock (R*)	**86,631**	**100**

DISTRICT 21 (46% D – 32% R – 17% DS)

Scott (D*)	**56,494**	**100**
New (L)	**472**	**100**

Will the Legislature finally see a Libertarian member? No.

DISTRICT 23 (51% D – 28% R – 17% DS)

Kuehl (D*)	**79,258**	**100**
Lanzi (R)	**33,460**	**100**
Goldman (L)	**479**	**100**

DISTRICT 25 (61% D – 21% R – 13% DS)

Vincent (D*)	**44,557**	**100**
Green (R)	6,490	37
Spencer (R)	**8,356**	**47**
Woods (R)	2,813	16
Ogden (L)	**188**	**100**

Three Republicans vied for the right to face incumbent Democrat Ed Vincent in November. Go figure.

DISTRICT 27 (50% D – 30% R – 15% DS)

Lowenthal (D)	**40,618**	**100**
Castellanos (R)	**15,154**	**53**
Jackson (R)	13,625	47

DISTRICT 29 (33% D – 47% R – 17% DS)

Bautista (D)	**37,067**	**100**
Margett (R*)	**67,432**	**100**
Fernandes (L)	**421**	**100**

DISTRICT 31 (35% D – 48% R – 13% DS)

Mikels (D)	**37,173**	**100**
Dutton (R)	**57,863**	**100**

Rookie Assm. Bob Dutton has very big shoes to fill. This is the district of Sen. Min. Ldr. Jim Brulte, who is termed out.

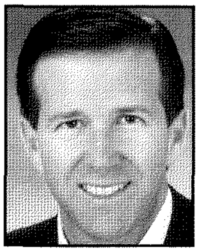
DISTRICT 33 (27% D – 53% R – 16% DS)

Daughterty (D)	**41,688**	**100**
Ackerman (R*)	**93,580**	**100**

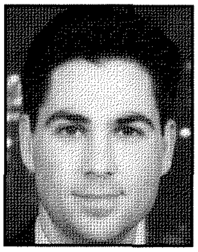
DISTRICT 35 (29% D – 50% R – 17% DS)

Siebert (D)	**46,925**	**100**
Campbell (R)	**59,299**	**61**
Maddox (R)	29,447	30
Snyder (R)	9,272	9
Johnson (L)	**896**	**100**

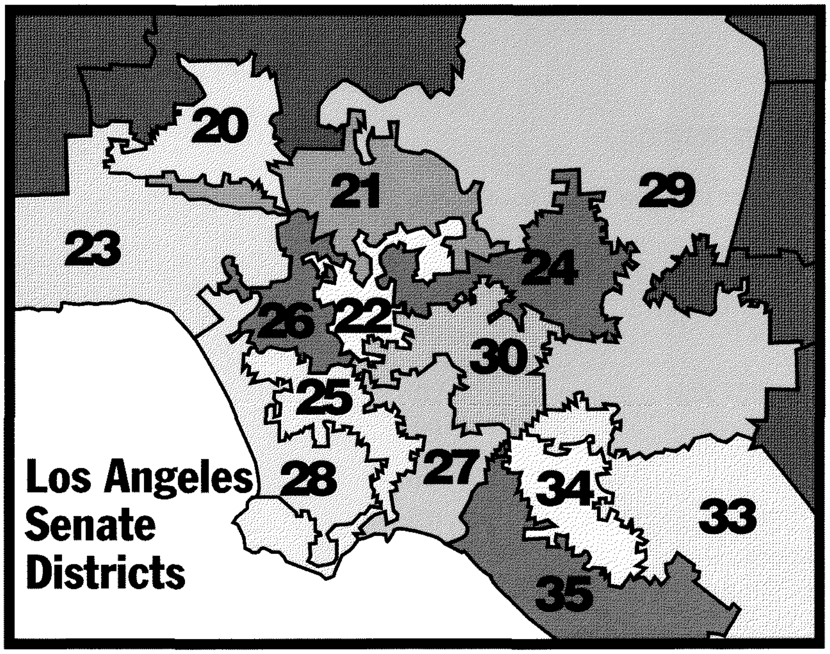
In a battle of incumbent assemblymen, John Campbell easily defeated Ken Maddox for the right to succeed the Senate's elder statesman, Ross Johnson. The race was expected to be both extensive and intense. It was. It was also expected to be closer. But Campbell marshaled support from the likes of Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, former Gov. Pete Wilson, Sen. Johnson and Sen. Min. Ldr. Jim Brulte, among others, plus outspent Maddox to claim the prize. Each side accused the other of Republican improprieties. Maddox took on Campbell for being soft on illegal immigration and for supporting Prop. 57 — the governor's bailout bond. Campbell pointed out the generous support given Maddox by — egad — labor unions and Indian gaming tribes. Campbell also accused Maddox of trying to engineer an endorsement by Orange Co. Young Republicans by packing a meeting with his staff. In the aftermath, Maddox expressed disappointment that some Election Day snafus with new electronic voting machines may have cost him votes. Not enough votes to swing the outcome, however.



Campbell



Maddox



DISTRICT 37 (34% D – 49% R – 13% DS)

Johansen (D)	**45,057**	**100**
Battin (R*)	**69,212**	**100**

DISTRICT 39 (40% D – 34% R – 20% DS)

Kehoe (D)	**67,922**	**100**
Bourke (R)	5,561	11
Denney (R)	4,910	10
Galley (R)	2,859	6
Stirling (R)	**37,414**	**74**
Murphy (L)	**863**	**100**

This should be an interesting race between Assm. Christine Kehoe and former Sen. Larry Stirling, with both parties likely to spend heavily.

— *A.G. Block*

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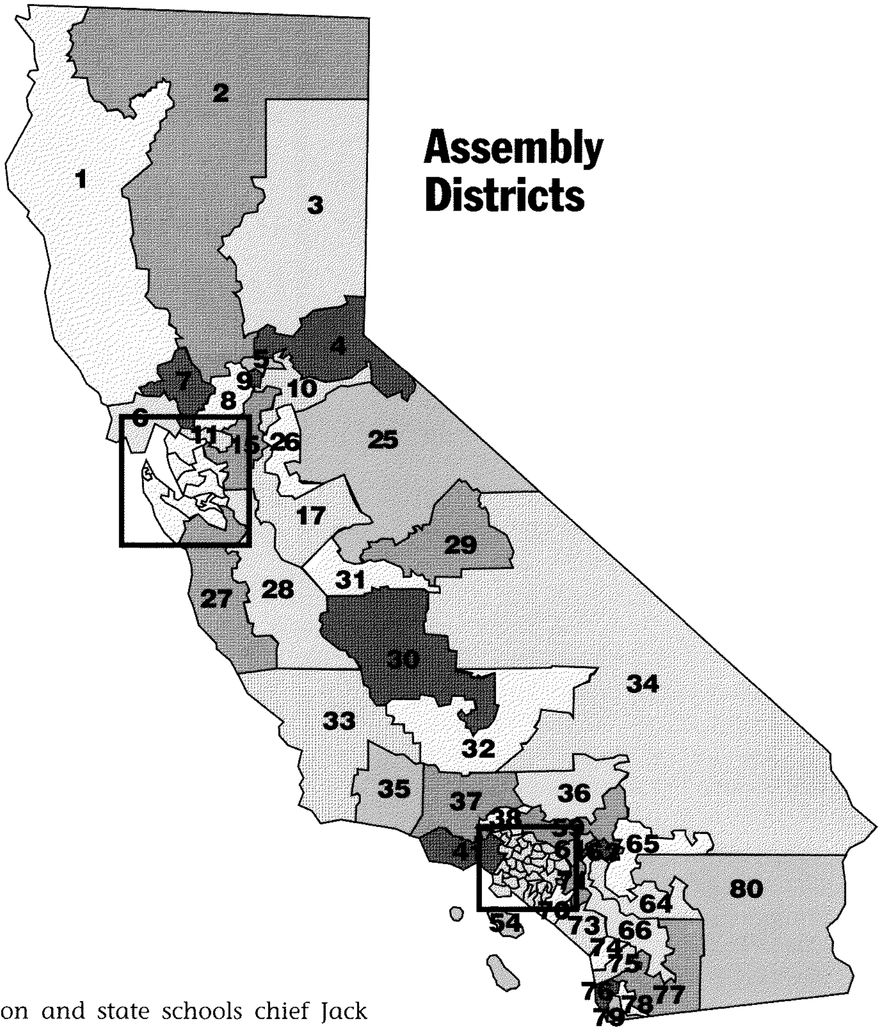


DISTRICT 1 (45% D – 30% R – 16% DS)

Berg (D*)	**58,654**	**100**
Foppoli (R)	14,132	40
Tyrone (R)	**10,763**	**60**
Anton (L)	**664**	**100**

DISTRICT 2 (34% D – 48% R – 13% DS)

McIver (D)	**28,164**	**100**
Malfa (R*)	**49,645**	**100**

DISTRICT 3 (34% D – 44% R – 16% DS)

Woods (D)	**33,699**	**100**
Keene (R*)	**48,322**	**100**
Burk (L)	**492**	**100**

DISTRICT 4 (32% D – 48% R – 15% DS)

Schwenk (D)	**31,497**	**100**
Leslie (R*)	**56,368**	**100**

DISTRICT 5 (36% D – 44% R – 15% DS)

Carey (D)	**15,370**	**59**
Loree (D)	10,508	41
Fox (R)	5,489	14
Niello (R)	**35,093**	**87**
Manfre (L)	**278**	**100**

Former Assembly GOP leader Dave Cox is moving on to the state Senate and will be replaced by Sacramento Co. Supe. Roger Niello. Democrats won't play here on behalf of Sandra Carey, a registered lobbyist.

DISTRICT 6 (50% D – 26% R – 18% DS)

Nation (D*)	**61,361**	**100**
Patrick (R)	**25,103**	**100**

DISTRICT 7 (51% D – 29% R – 15% DS)

Evans (D)	**28,639**	**55**
Leddy (D)	23,648	45
Krueger (R)	**23,940**	**100**
Smith (L)	**375**	**100**

Two-term Santa Rosa City Councilwoman Noreen Evans and school board member Jim Leddy proved that most district battles are local affairs that rarely turn on endorsements from high-powered allies. That was especially true for Leddy, who had backing from his boss, state Sen. Wes Chesbro, as well as from U.S. House Minority Ldr. Nancy Pelosi, U.S. Rep. Mike Thompson, state Sen. pro Tem. John Burton and state schools chief Jack O'Connell. Evans, on the other hand, had support from former San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown, Assm. Spkr. Fabian Nunez and Assm. Pat Wiggins, the termed-out incumbent who likely was the only name worth having on a campaign resume. Teachers and school employee unions also backed Leddy, as did other unions. Both candidates raised the same amount of money on their own — about $285,000 — but big infusions also came from independent expenditures. Trial lawyers, firefighters and nurses weighed in with more than $150,000 for Evans, an attorney, while doctors and realtors spent a similar amount for Leddy. In the end, Evans won rather easily, aided by her own name ID accumulated through nine years' service in city government and two at-large elections in the district's biggest population base — Santa Rosa.

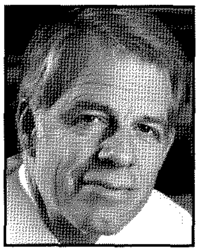
DISTRICT 8 (45% D – 32% R – 17% DS)

Wolk (D*)	**37,751**	**100**
Munn (R)	**23,848**	**100**

DISTRICT 9 (55% D – 23% R – 16% DS)

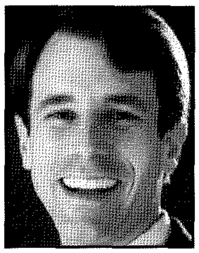
Begay (D)	838	2
Cochren (D)	888	2
Dickinson (D)	9,621	26
Hammond (D)	6,728	18
Hernandez (D)	3,433	9
Jones (D)	**16,143**	**43**
Garcia (R)	**11,418**	**100**
Morgan (L)	**191**	**100**

Mail early, mail often. Mail until



Dickinson

Hammond



Jones

brochures ooze from the blue recycling bins that dot Sacramento neighborhoods. Six Democrats sought to succeed termed-out Assm. Darrell Steinberg, and three of the six poured enough mail into the district to denude a medium-sized forest. At this volume, mail is the love child of money, and the three top contenders had it in abundance. Sacramento City Council members Dave Jones and Lauren Hammond, and Sacramento Co. Supervisor Roger Dickinson all benefited from sizeable fund-raising operations and targeted independent expenditures. School board member Manny Hernandez was well known in the district, but his campaign was so chronically short of cash that he could only murmur while his competition shouted through bullhorns. Two other Democrats — Donna Begay and Leslie Cochren — were mute. With the popular Steinberg neutral, Dickinson began the race as front-runner and early on pulled in high-profile endorsements from the likes of U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein, U.S. Rep. Bob Matsui, former Rep. Vic Fazio and fellow supervisors. Hammond had backing from most of her fellow council members, as well as Sacramento Mayor Heather Fargo and the Legislative Black Caucus. Jones' bandwagon included state Sen. Deborah Ortiz, environmental groups, the leaders of neighborhood associations, and labor. Especially labor with money — firefighters, teachers, service employees, state employees, the AFL-CIO and nurses. As a result, Jones and his allies heavily outspent his opponents, including one last-minute IE television buy worth $94,000. Money seemed to tip the balance, allowing the 42-year-old progressive to win handily on Election Day. Jones also worked the neighborhoods, walking precincts for months prior to the election. For the most part, the campaign traveled a high road as the candidates touted their accomplishments and endorsements. The only negative hit came late from Jones, who accused Dickinson of flip-flopping on public money for a new arena for the Sacramento Kings basketball team.

DISTRICT 10 (38% D – 44% R – 14% DS)

Nakanishi (R*)	**38,637**	**100**
Lang (L)	**258**	**100**

Will the Legislature see its first-ever Libertarian member? No.

DISTRICT 11 (53% D – 17% R –15% DS)

Canciamilla (D*)	**41,199**	**100**
Santiago (R)	**17,763**	**100**
Manske (L)	**283**	**100**

DISTRICT 12 (52% D – 15% R – 28% DS)

Yee (D*)	**39,214**	**100**
Epstein (R)	**7,215**	**100**
Maden (L)	**214**	**100**

DISTRICT 13 (55% D – 11% R – 26% DS)

Leno (D*)	**55,441**	**100**
Gallagher (R)	2,983	48
Neira (R)	**3,234**	**52**
Marvin (L)	**340**	**100**

Assm. Mark Leno has been performing gay marriages in San Francisco, which violates his oath to uphold the laws of California and which has prompted an ethics complaint against him. As you can see, the flap has seriously compromised his ability to attract votes.

DISTRICT 14 (58% D – 17% R – 18% DS)

Hancock (D*)	**62,881**	**100**
Montauk (R)	**13,719**	**100**
O'Neal (L)	**315**	**100**

DISTRICT 15 (38% D – 44% R – 15% DS)

Shaw (D)	**35,491**	**100**
Houston (R*)	**42,521**	**100**

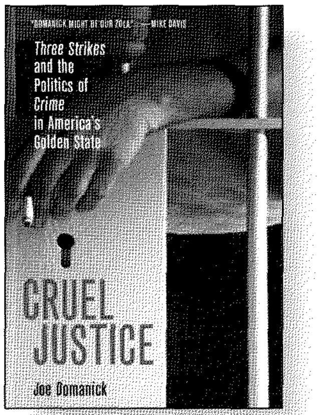
DISTRICT 16 (62% D – 11% R – 20% DS)

Chan (D*)	**47,793**	**100**
Udinsky (R)	**6,471**	**100**

DISTRICT 17 (48% D – 40% R – 9% DS)

Matthews (D*)	**23,266**	**89**
Sweet (D)	2,870	11
McGarry (R)	**9,841**	**53**
Sanchez (R)	3,808	20
Shults (R)	4,932	27

The Central Valley is always in play, no matter which party has a registration edge, and the cast has now assembled for another episode of "Survivor." Two years ago, Republicans went after incumbent Democrat Barbara Matthews with a high-powered campaign that fell short because the GOP nominee hailed from Merced Co. and failed to cut into Matthews' base in San Joaquin Co., where Democrats hold a substantial registration edge. This time, the Republican nominee is from — sigh — Merced Co. But Merced City Councilwoman Nellie McGarry, who coasted to victory in the primary, brings a few extra assets to the table, including her Latina ethnicity and strong ties to the business community. In addition, Democratic registration has continued to erode in the area, although Matthews ran ahead of registration two years



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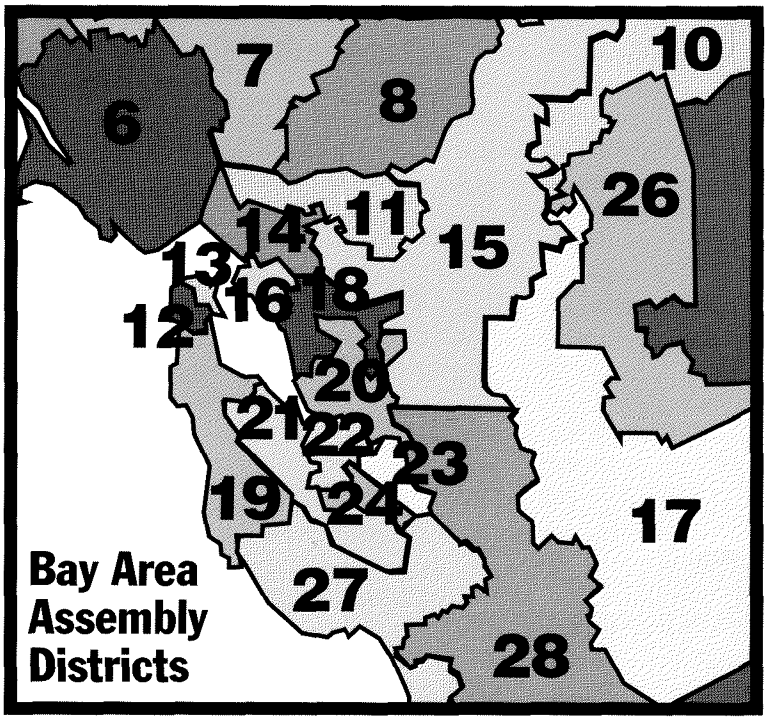


ago. Look for another all-out effort by the GOP, especially since this district sits directly below a state Senate seat where Republicans will mount a major campaign to defeat incumbent Democrat Mike Machado.

DISTRICT 18 (55% D – 24% R – 17% DS)

Klehs (D)	**34,854**	**100**
Colfer (L)	**213**	**100**

Will the Legislature see its first-ever Libertarian member? No.

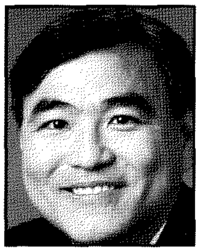
DISTRICT 19 (50% D – 26% R – 20% DS)

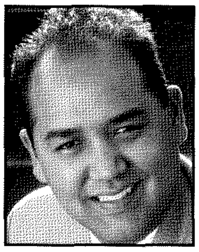
Mullin (D*)	**40,912**	**100**
Brinkman (R)	**14,999**	**100**
Gilster (L)	**243**	**100**

DISTRICT 20 (47% D – 26% R – 23% DS)

Bhatt (D)	1,172	3
Hayashi (D)	7,960	23
Manayan (D)	4,930	14
Pico (D)	9,794	28
Torrico (D)	**11,148**	**32**
Williams (R)	**13,048**	**100**

The contest to replace termed-out Democratic Assm. John Dutra was not for the faint of heart. With five Democrats elbowing for votes in and around Fremont, the district became a jousting ground for special interests, who poured in money on behalf of Dennis Hayashi (trial lawyers), Henry Manayan (EdVoice and realtors) and Alberto Torrico (Indian gaming tribes, insurance, labor). By the time the mud had stopped flowing, Torrico, a Newark city councilman, had won a narrow victory over Tom Pico, the mayor of Pleasanton. The effort to elect Torrico also highlighted the pitfalls associated with IE campaigns because the candidate had to repudiate a mailer sent on his behalf by Moderate Democrats for California. The piece, which dropped just before the election, accused Pico of traveling on the taxpayers' dime to, among other places, Dublin, Ireland. Pico admitted visiting Dublin but, unfortunately for Torrico and the MDC, it was Dublin, California. Although the MDC subsequently apologized, the damage, according to Pico, was done. Nor did the goof prevent the MDC and other Torrico allies from launching $250,000 worth of attack ads against Torrico's opponents down to the wire. JOBSPAC, for instance, pumped more than $100,000 into an anti-Hayashi campaign. Hayashi himself benefited from more than $200,000 in IEs from the trial lawyers. For his part, Torrico tried to distance himself from the effort, saying that his campaign was aboveboard and positive and that the real mud was slung by IE mavens over whom he had no control. But a sour aroma lingered over the field nonetheless. Torrico now faces Republican Cliff Williams in what should be a much easier contest.


Hayashi


Torrico

DISTRICT 21 (45% D – 32% R – 20% DS)

Barton (D)	6,755	14
Carcione (D)	17,075	37
Nesbet (D)	5,419	12
Ruskin (D)	**17,417**	**37**
Poizner (R)	**22,306**	**100**

Ruskin

Half a million bucks just doesn't buy what it used to buy on the tony Peninsula south of San Francisco. That is how much money consumer attorneys and their allies spent on behalf of Joe Carcione, himself a trial lawyer, both in independent expenditures and direct contributions. The lawyers' largess was very nearly matched by Moderate Democrats for California and tort-reform advocates on behalf of Ira Ruskin, a Redwood councilman who also received substantial help from labor. Carcione, grandson of the Bay Area's famous "Green Grocer" and son of a prominent attorney, also pumped substantial personal resources into the campaign, including $200,000 in seed money. Neither Monte Sereno councilwoman Barbara Nesbet nor Palo Alto school board member John Barton raised enough money on their own to compete, although Barton benefited from over $200,000 in IEs — mostly from insurance companies and their allies (Californians for Civil Justice Reform). Ironically, an IE for Barton may have inflicted the most damage on Carcione. The hit suggested that the 28-year-old Carcione was too inexperienced and too much in the pocket of trial lawyers. Doubts raised by the attack may have been enough to tip a close race to Ruskin, who did not claim victory until several days after the election. The result was too close to call until county registrars waded through a mountain of absentee ballots. The two candidates each carried one of the two counties included in the district. Carcione took San Mateo but by too small a margin to offset Ruskin's advantage in Santa Clara. Money won't stop flowing here now that the primary is over, however. Waiting in the wings is Republican Steve Poizner, a billionaire Silicon Valley entrepreneur who loaned his campaign $500,000 for the primary — where he had no opponent. Think how much he'll spend to defeat Ruskin.

DISTRICT 22 (43% D – 28% R – 25% DS)

Lieber (D*)	**27,902**	**100**
Dominguez-Gasson (R)	**12,209**	**100**

DISTRICT 23 (51% D – 22% R – 22% DS)

Coto (D)	**9,806**	**44**
Napoli (D)	6,971	31
Martinez-Roach (D)	3,095	14
Tran (D)	2,693	12
Patrosso (R)	**6,548**	**100**
Bloomberg (G)	**148**	**100**

Joe Coto, a former school superintendent from the East Side Union High School District, easily outpaced businesswoman Kathy Napoli and two other Democrats for the nomination to replace Assm. Manny Diaz. Napoli early on seeded her campaign with $100,000 then continued to match Coto's fund raising. Unfortunately for Napoli and other Democrats, Coto was the anointed candidate, endorsed by Diaz, Latinos and moderate members of the Assembly caucus. That gave him entree to groups such as Moderate Democrats for California, which made IEs on his behalf. The South Bay Labor Council also dumped independent money for Coto, who ran an "education first" platform.

DISTRICT 24 (45% D – 31% R – 20% DS)

Cohn (D*)	**30,973**	**100**
Janowiak (R)	1,286	7
Konnyu (R)	**12,399**	**64**
Redick (R)	5,797	30
Collier (L)	**341**	**100**

Yes, the Republican primary winner is the same Ernie Konnyu who once served in the Assembly and in Congress and now is attempting a comeback against incumbent Democrat Rebecca Cohn. The two contenders have something in common: Each has at one time or another been accused by staffers of sexual harassment. District voters are already lining their mailboxes with plastic and disinfectant.

DISTRICT 25 (38% D – 46% R – 11% DS)

Marks (D)	**25,717**	**100**
Cogdill (R*)	**41,023**	**100**

DISTRICT 26 (43% D – 45% R – 9% DS)

Weintz (D)	**20,235**	**100**
Aghazarian (R*)	**27,267**	**100**

DISTRICT 27 (46% D – 30% R – 17% DS)

Laird (D*)	**47,705**	**100**
Barlich (R)	**22,437**	**100**

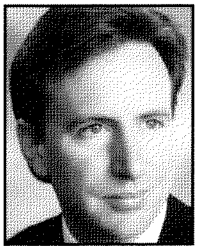
DISTRICT 28 (51% D – 30% R – 16% DS)

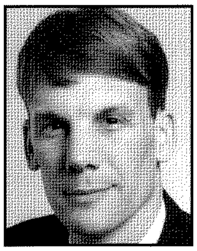
Salinas (D*)	**21,768**	**100**
Perkins (R)	**13,437**	**100**

DISTRICT 29 (35% D – 52% R – 11% DS)

Macias (D)	**24,511**	**100**
Briggs (R)	13,116	27
Mathys (R)	14,691	30
Villines (R)	**20,675**	**43**
Crockford (G)	**261**	**100**

Must be something in the water around Fresno because this unfortunate district has seen more than its share of nasty Republican primaries. Two years ago, it was a gutter-level dust-up between Steve Samuelian and Larry Willey that eventually saw Samuelian head for Sacramento. Then, after Samuelian's career cratered over suspicions that he frequented prostitutes, another Republican primary quickly sank into the same fetid muck of charge and countercharge. The two main slingers were uber-conservative Chris Mathys, a one-time member of the Fresno City Council, and Mike Villines, a one-time aide to former Gov. Pete Wilson and chief of staff to area Sen. Chuck Poochigian. Trying to keep to the slippery high road was a third candidate, former Assm. Mike Briggs. Villines was the


Briggs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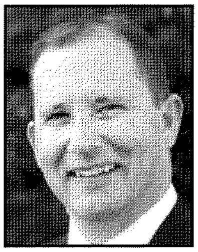
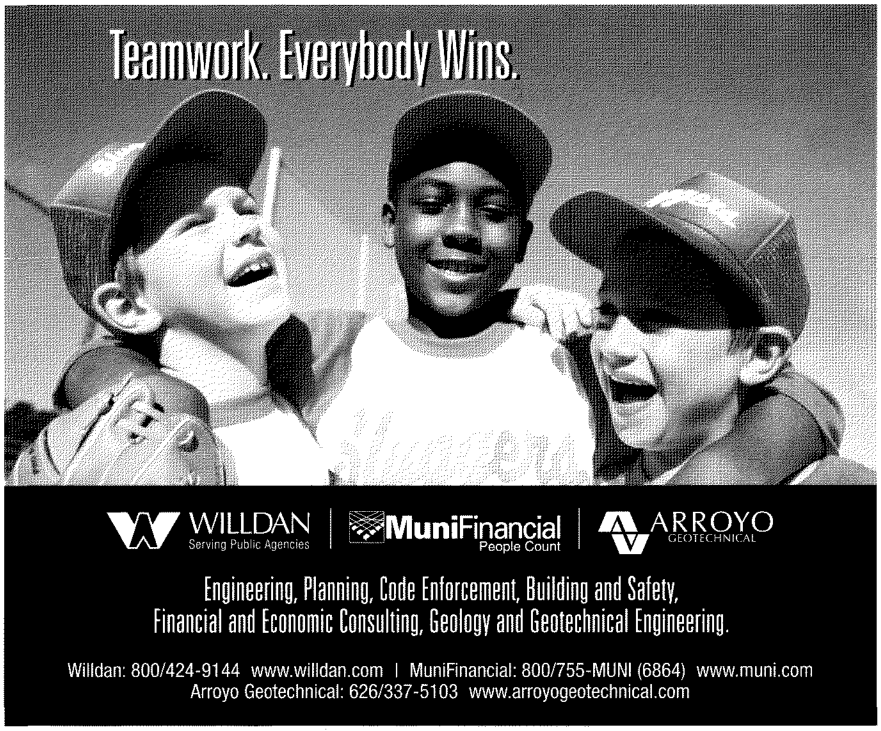

Villines



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clear choice of the Republican establishment, having earned the backing of former governors Wilson and George Deukmejian, Assm. GOP Ldr. Kevin McCarthy, U.S. Senate candidate Bill Jones, most members of the Assembly GOP caucus, most Republican state senators and area congressmen, and most local mayors. Mathys countered that endorsement edge with a whack-and-whomp campaign that tried to paint Villines as — gasp — a moderate, accusing him of being soft on abortion and in favor of gun control because he once worked for Wilson. Villines grumped that Mathys' billboards and signs were misleading and placed without permission from property owners. As though they didn't have enough material to hurl at each other, both Mathys and Villines turned on Briggs for having supported Democratic budgets in the past and for taking a job with the Democratic caucus after losing a congressional primary in 2002. The final blow to Briggs' campaign, however, may have been a late February endorsement from *The Fresno Bee* that reminded voters about Briggs' willingness to work with Democrats. In a GOP primary, that's like trying to alert voters by setting fire to the candidate. In fact, it is something of a tribute to Briggs that he pulled in a quarter of the vote after suffering *The Bee* endorsement and being outspent by his two Republican opponents 10-to-1 over the final two months of the campaign. Villines now gets a seat in Sacramento because the district is safe for any Republican who emerges from the primary, no matter how big his or her dry-cleaning bill.

DISTRICT 30 (48% D – 40% R – 9% DS)

Parra (D*)	**16,060**	**100**
Gardner (R)	**15,509**	**100**

It was a bad election night for first-term incumbent Nicole Parra. Her father, veteran Kern Co. Supe. Pete Parra, lost a re-election bid to a candidate backed by the Parras' arch-nemesis — state Sen. Dean Florez. Now, she faces a rematch with Republican Dean Gardner who nearly beat her two years ago. Fireworks here in the fall.

DISTRICT 31 (49% D – 39% R – 10% DS)

Arambula (D)	**19,008**	**100**
Betancourt (R)	**11,364**	**82**
Warkentin (R)	**2,429**	**18**

Former CA. Bureau president Paul Betancourt overwhelmed his competition and now braces for a fall brawl with Fresno Co. Supe. Juan Arambula. With few competitive races on the horizon, this one could prove expensive and tough. The winner will replace Democrat Sarah Reyes, who is termed out.

DISTRICT 32 (30% D – 55% R – 11% DS)

Armas (D)	**17,548**	**100**
McCarthy (R*)	**48,610**	**100**

The challenge for the new GOP leader, Kevin McCarthy, won't come in his November race against Democrat Marvin Armas. It will come on other battlefields as he seeks to expand the size of his caucus.

DISTRICT 33 (35% D – 44% R – 15% DS)

Jenkins (D)	**27,557**	**100**
Blakeslee (R)	**19,198**	**39**
Kokkonen (R)	15,293	31
Zimmerman (R)	14,528	30
Hutchings (G)	**829**	**100**
Kirkland (L)	**365**	**100**

The three-way contest to replace termed-out Republican Abel Maldonado went as expected, with Cuesta Community College trustee Sam Blakeslee defeating a pair of tough, hard-working opponents. Not that the campaign wasn't without intrigue and a little mud-slinging that helped narrow what had been a substantial early lead for Blakeslee. Matt Kokkonen and Mike Zimmerman both raised and spent in triple digits, although neither could match the front-runner's war chest. Blakeslee also was the only candidate to benefit from IEs; in his case, from EdVoice and safety employees. Both of Blakeslee's opponents put him on the defensive at times by questioning his conservative credentials on the issue of tax increases. Kokkonen also raised eyebrows when he accused Blakeslee of having sued an ex-wife over child-support payments more than 25 years ago. Blakeslee was forced to respond with a letter to voters designed to "set the record straight." Voters got the message.

DISTRICT 34 (35% D – 48% R – 13% DS)

Florez (D)	**16,417**	**100**
Maze (R*)	**29,277**	**100**

DISTRICT 35 (43% D – 34% R – 17% DS)

Nava (D)	**32,503**	**100**
Pohl (R)	**25,952**	**100**

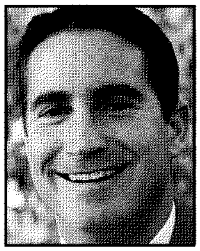
DISTRICT 36 (36% D – 46% R – 14% DS)

Scioneaux (D)	**13,737**	**100**
Runner (R*)	**25,930**	**100**

This would be Sharon Runner. Her husband, former Assm. George Runner, will be in the Senate next year — making the Runners the Legislature's first husband-wife team.

DISTRICT 37 (34% D – 46% R – 15% DS)

Gorell (R)	14,104	32
McClendon (R)	948	2
Robinson (R)	13,422	30
Strickland (R)	**15,817**	**36**
Prince (G)	**431**	**100**


Gorell

Strickland

At 33, deputy Ventura Co. DA Jeff Gorell was the eldest of three major GOP candidates vying to replace termed-out Republican Tony Strickland. The incumbent's wife, Audra, is 29, while Mike Robinson is 28. Unfortunately, status as an elder statesman didn't help Gorell, who finished a credible second, despite being underfunded in a campaign where overall spending exceeded $1 million. The big financial gun was Robinson, a former aide to state Sen. Tom McClintock. Independently wealthy thanks to a trust fund, Robinson kept writing himself six-figure checks, including one for $100,000 in the last week of February. That money kept Robinson competitive. On the other side of the tracks, Gorell was able to spend little more than half that of each of his opponents between January and Election Day. The lack of resources prevented Gorell from running an extensive absentee-ballot program, which cost him votes in both L.A. and Ventura counties. Gorell was the moderate in the race, with Robinson tacking far to the right and Strickland maintaining what passes for the center in a Republican primary. A long list of prominent Republicans backed Gorell, including former Gov. Pete Wilson, former L.A. Mayor Richard Riordan and Ventura Co. supervisors Linda Parks and Judy Mikels, among others. Strickland, a local school board member, had support from most of the Legislature's Republican establishment, while Robinson was endorsed by groups on the right, such as the California Republican Assembly and the National Tax-Limitation Committee, as well as conservatives such as the Mountjoys, Richard and Dennis. In the end, Strickland captured all three counties included in the district. Her 1,000-vote margin in Ventura — where more than 80% of the district resides — made her overall margin relatively comfortable.

DISTRICT 38 (35% D – 45% R – 16% DS)

Davis (D)	**19,939**	**100**
Richman (R*)	**33,346**	**100**

DISTRICT 39 (59% D – 20% R – 16% DS)

Montanez (D*)	**12,222**	**100**
Ayao (R)	**4,724**	**100**

DISTRICT 40 (48% D – 31% R – 16% DS)

Levine (D*)	**22,324**	**100**
Isler (R)	**13,648**	**100**

DISTRICT 41 (48% D – 31% R – 17% DS)

Pavley (D*)	**38,434**	**100**
Peters (R)	**20,575**	**100**
Koffler (L)	**281**	**100**

DISTRICT 42 (55% D – 22% R – 19% DS)

Koretz (D*)	**43,283**	**100**
Fredrix (R)	**11,725**	**100**

DISTRICT 43 (44% D – 33% R – 18% DS)

Frommer (D*)	**22,402**	**100**
Worden (L)	**230**	**100**

Will the Legislature see its first-ever Libertarian member? No.

DISTRICT 44 (45% D – 34% R – 17% DS)

Liu (D*)	**28,571**	**100**
Gabriel (R)	**13,233**	**53**
Wilcox (R)	11,560	47

Lynn Gabriel, an optometrist with strong ties to the business community, won this primary but less-than-convincingly over conservative Dave Wilcox. Republicans made noise before the primary about taking a run at incumbent Democrat Carol Liu if Gabriel won, but Liu polled 3,000 votes more than the combined total of both Republicans. Given these results, it remains to be seen whether Republicans devote resources to the fall contest. Of course, since Gabriel's husband owns The Closet Factory, Assembly Republicans may not have to open the vault very wide on her behalf.

DISTRICT 45 (59% D – 16% R – 19% DS)

Goldberg (D*)	**16,524**	**100**
Gutierrez (R)	**3,140**	**100**

DISTRICT 46 (67% D – 12% R – 16% DS)

Nunez (D*)	**11,683**	**100**
Aldana (R)	**1,421**	**100**

Democrat Fabian Nunez considered it an asset that he was elected speaker of the Assembly after less than a year in office. That's because, by keeping the speakership for four or five years, he could stabilize the house. Whether he is able to accomplish that feat in some measure depends on his ability to shepherd Democrats through this election. How many seats can Democrats lose before the rest of his caucus gets nervous and dumps him?

DISTRICT 47 (66% D – 13% R – 16% DS)

Bass (D)	**23,561**	**48**
Cooper (D)	1,177	2
Groper (D)	4,912	10
Holden (D)	10,194	21
Ivie (D)	9,174	19
Everett (R)	**5,649**	**100**
DeBaets (L)	***127***	***100***

The resounding victory by Karen Bass is an ode to grassroots organizing and the value of long-term community involvement. Bass is the founder of Community Coalition, a multi-ethnic organization that has been combating drug dealing and the proliferation of liquor stores for more than a decade. That record of coalition build-

The Missing Student Project

Across California, community college students are creating "Missing Student" statues to represent the 175,000 students who have not enrolled in community colleges because of course reductions and fee increases. The Missing Student Project statues will be on display across California this summer.

Each of the 120 Missing Student statues represents nearly 1,500 students who have been shut out of a higher education. While the exhibit may appear as a fun art project, we must remember the missing students for whom the statues are telling a story.

"Missing Student"
City College
of San Francisco

Photo by
Roger Baird

To see the Missing Student Project, visit:
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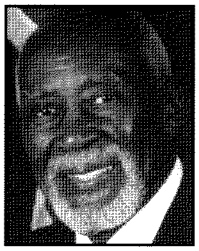
California Community Colleges
Keeping the doors open since 1910.

A message from the Community College League of California.



Holden

Bass

ing helped Bass reach out to the district's diverse ethnic groups and gain backing from heavyweights such as Miguel Contreras and the Los Angeles Co. Federation of Labor, which made her election a priority. She also had backing from trial lawyers, Spkr. Fabian Nunez, Assm. Mark Ridley-Thomas and L.A. councilman and former Assm. Spkr. Antonio Villaraigosa. As a result, she swamped her two most prominent rivals — former state Sen. and L.A. councilman Nate Holden and entertainment attorney Rickey Ivie. Holden had been endorsed by U.S. Rep. Maxine Waters, while Ivie had backing from, among others, the termed-out incumbent, former Assm. Spkr. Herb Wesson. Both Holden and Ivie amassed good-sized treasuries, but neither could ultimately run with Bass and her allies, who not only kept her well-heeled with direct contributions but poured more than $330,000 in IEs into the district as well. That, combined with the ground power that her own organization and labor put onto the street on Election Day, allowed Bass to coast.

DISTRICT 48 (72% D – 9% R – 14% DS)

Ridley-Thomas (D*)	**17,442**	**100**
Alexander (R)	**1,398**	**100**

DISTRICT 49 (47% D – 27% R – 22% DS)

Chu (D*)	**14,813**	**100**
Needs (R)	**8,576**	**100**
Brown (L)	**62**	**100**

DISTRICT 50 (62% D – 18% R – 15% DS)

Chacon (D)	4,089	24
de la Torre (D)	**11,294**	**66**
Reyes (D)	1,738	10
Mendez (R)	1,965	41
Miller (R)	**2,867**	**59**

A battle of the Hectors in which South Gate Mayor Hector de la Torre bested Montebello school board member Hector Chacon. At the bell, it turned out to be not much of a contest. De la Torre had better name ID from his years as a reformer in the troubled city of South Gate, plus a *lot* more money. Not only did he double Chacon in direct contributions, but he was the beneficiary of more than $160,000 in IEs, mostly from Californians United — a consortium of Indian gaming tribes, tobacco companies and business interests such as Southern California Edison. The eventual winner also was backed by the termed-out incumbent, Democrat Marco Firebaugh, and the county labor federation. De la Torre was part of a reform movement that tried to clean up South Gate after his election to the council in 1995. His efforts succeeded last year in the recall of former South Gate Treasurer Albert Robles and three of Robles' allies on the council. Robles has since been indicted. That publicity, combined with a sizeable treasury, made it a no-contest for de la Torre.

DISTRICT 51 (64% D – 17% R – 14% DS)

J.Horton (D*)	**23,168**	**100**
Sherman (L)	**78**	**100**

Will the Legislature see its first-ever Libertarian member? No.

DISTRICT 52 (74% D – 8% R – 12% DS)

Dymally (D*)	**15,354**	**100**

DISTRICT 53 (41% D – 37% R – 18% DS)

Gordon (D)	**30,887**	**100**
Hill (R)	**23,170**	**100**
Boivie (L)	**367**	**100**
Smith (PF)	**90**	**100**

Expect a heated battle this fall between Mike Gordon, the mayor of El Segundo, and Greg Hill, the mayor of Redondo Beach. They will vie to replace termed-out Democrat George Nakano.

DISTRICT 54 (43% D – 37% R – 15% DS)

Karnette (D)	**28.969**	**100**
Kuykendall (R)	**27,529**	**100**
Sterne (L)	**279**	**100**

Another doozy of a fall race is shaping up in this Long Beach district, where two long-time adversaries square off. State Sen. Betty Karnette and former Assm. Steve Kuykendall have danced this tango before. This time, they are trying to succeed Democrat Alan Lowenthal, who is termed out and running for Karnette's seat in the Senate.

DISTRICT 55 (55% D – 25% R – 15% DS)

Oropeza (D*)	**19,843**	**100**
Underhill (R)	**10,040**	**100**

DISTRICT 56 (50% D – 30% R – 16% DS)

Bermudez (D*)	**17,946**	**100**
Brantuk (R)	**12,670**	**100**

DISTRICT 57 (51% D – 30% R – 15% DS)

Chavez (D*)	**17,321**	**100**
Valenzuela (R)	**10,065**	**100**

DISTRICT 58 (53% D – 28% R – 14% DS)

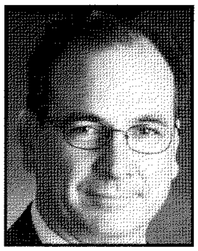
Calderon (D*)	**20,655**	**100**
Topalian (R)	**11,871**	**100**

DISTRICT 59 (33% D – 49% R – 14% DS)

Harden (D)	**22,915**	**100**
Mountjoy (R*)	**40,132**	**100**
Ward (L)	**302**	**100**

DISTRICT 60 (31% D – 49% R – 17% DS)

Martinez (D)	**17,299**	**100**
Huff (R)	**16,158**	**41**
MacAloney (R)	10,998	28
Pacheco (R)	12,023	31

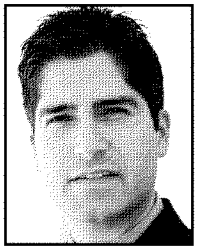


Huff

For once, the value of a last name did not count for much. Gayle Pacheco tried to succeed her husband, Republican Bob Pacheco, but voters gave a comfortable victory to Bob Huff, a party activist, councilman and two-time mayor of Diamond Bar. The district cuts across three counties, although most voters live in Los Angeles and Orange counties, with a small sliver in San Bernardino — the only county where Pacheco prevailed. Huff won convincingly in L.A. and even captured Orange, which has the lion's share of voters and is home county to the third candidate, Villa Park councilman Bill MacAloney. Early on, the race was considered to be between Pacheco and MacAloney, a supermarket owner who had strong support from the grocery industry, as well as Orange Co. Republicans. But Huff kept competitive with loans down the stretch, allowing him to keep mail in front of voters and tout his experience in local government.

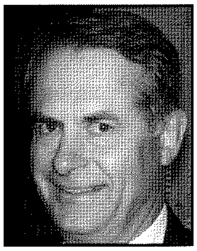
DISTRICT 61 (49% D – 33% R – 14% DS)		
McLeod (D*)	**14,164**	**100**
Moore (R)	3,476	29
Wapner (R)	**8,690**	**72**

DISTRICT 62 (54% D – 31% R – 12% DS)		
Baca Jr. (D)	**11,451**	**59**
Hawkins (D)	2,601	13
Pruitt (D)	5,328	28
Ware (R)	**6,485**	**100**


Pruitt

It was supposed to be a close contest between warring factions of San Bernardino Co. Democrats, but it turned into a rout. Joe Baca Jr., a substitute teacher and son of the area's congressman, waltzed to victory over David Pruitt, chief of staff to the mayor of San Bernardino and a former staffer to Joe Baca Sr. The contest itself was expensive and bitter, with Pruitt and Baca each spending well into six figures and Pruitt helped by IEs from the likes of the California Medical Assn. and its dental counterpart. Although no IEs were reported for Baca, he received substantial donations from Indian tribes, developers, liquor and tobacco interests and Spkr. Fabian Nunez. Pruitt, on the other hand, also got help from the tribes, and from progressive legislators such as Sen. Sheila Kuehl and Assms. Darrell Steinberg, Jackie Goldberg, Christine Kehoe and John Longville — the termed-out incumbent. Both candidates touted their credentials: Baca as a teacher and former corrections officer; Pruitt as a staff aide to legislators. That touting amused the third Democratic candidate, Rialto school board member Walter Hawkins, who pointed out that he was the only one of the three with an elective record. Unfortunately, Hawkins came to the race late and never raised enough money to be competitive. Pruitt and Baca also lashed each other for the nature of their contributions. Pruitt complained that most of Baca's money came from special interests whose arms were twisted into pretzels by the candidate's father. Baca countered that most of Pruitt's money came from special interests in Sacramento. Baca also landed in hot water for claiming an endorsement from former Pres. Bill Clinton, who doesn't back candidates in contested primaries. Meanwhile, Pruitt's main complaint centered on the notion that Baca's father was buying the election for his ne'er-do-well son. True or false, Baca's biggest asset on Election Day proved to be his name.

District 63 (35% D – 48% R – 13% DS)		
McNamee (D)	**15,805**	**100**
Emmerson (R)	**10,126**	**29**
Lyon (R)	2,009	6
Morrell (R)	8,772	25
Pirozzi (R)	9,969	29
Robles (R)	1,359	4
Stavros (R)	2,412	7
Keedy (L)	**194**	**100**


Emmerson

Ugh. This expensive and untidy brawl in San Bernardino Co. featured six Republicans trying to succeed Republican Bob Dutton, who is running for the state Senate. Of the six, three had the money and backing to compete. Of those three, two — dentist Bill Emmerson and realtor Elia Pirozzi — went at each other with instruments not intended for home use. At issue was integrity, and both candidates had plenty of ammo to fire at the other camp. Emmerson thumped on Pirozzi for taking labor money and going after labor endorsements while campaigning against the influence of big labor. Pirozzi waxed indignant over a plot by the Emmerson campaign to send out a fake AFL-CIO endorsement of Pirozzi — a huge negative in a GOP primary (see "Up Front," page 4). When word of the plot leaked out in a series of press releases from Pirozzi, several local officials asked Emmerson to withdraw. He didn't, and the campaign progressed in a concentric downward spiral through Election Night, where a

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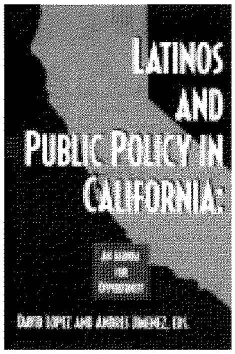

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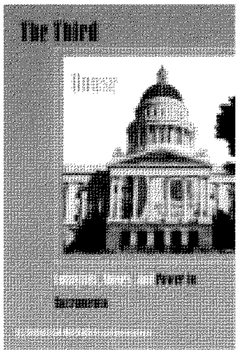

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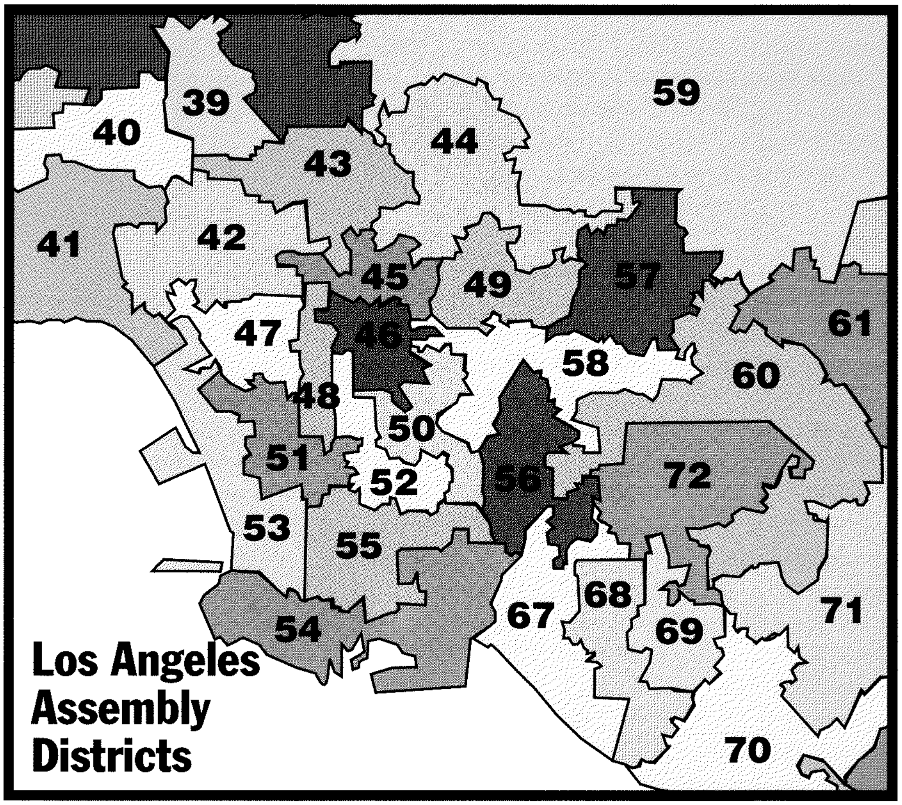


fistfight nearly broke out between campaign staffs gathered around computers at the county registrar's office. The third major candidate, local businessman Mike Morrell, mostly watched the carnage from the sidelines. Although he was badly outspent, Morrell still managed to plunk down a forest of signs. He also polled credibly, in part due to voter disgust with the two front-runners. Issues and pranks aside, money played a paramount role in the outcome. Emmerson's viability was created out of whole cloth by IEs from the California Dental Assn. and the California Medical Assn. How much did the two groups contribute? The French at Verdun didn't throw this much ordnance onto the field. As of March 1, the dentists and docs had spent nearly $690,000 on Emmerson — or $68 for every vote plunked into their candidate's bag on Election Day. Emmerson also pulled in over $400,000 in direct contributions between January 1 and the end of February, giving him better than $1 million in cash to slather the district with mail and television. Pirozzi, on the other hand, took in $160,000 in contributions over the same period. He also attracted IE support, but only one-tenth the amount that his opponent generated. All of that cash and effort for Emmerson bought a victory margin the width of dental floss on Election Day. Emmerson held a slim, 200-vote advantage when his cash machine stopped printing money on March 2, but his victory dance had to wait for a final count of some 8,800 provisional and absentee ballots. Two weeks later, his lead had shrunk to less than 150 votes.

DISTRICT 64 (34% D – 49% R – 13% DS)

Melsh (D)	**22,901**	**100**
Benoit (R*)	**35,176**	**100**

DISTRICT 65 (35% D – 48% R – 12% DS)

Ramirez-Dean (D)	**23,036**	**100**
Bogh (R*)	**35,534**	**100**

DISTRICT 66 (29% D – 53% R – 14% DS)

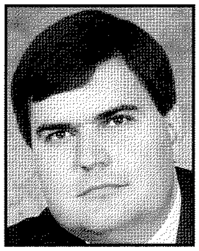
Nicholson (D)	**17,842**	**100**
Haynes (R*)	**35,197**	**100**
Lee (L)	**258**	**100**

DISTRICT 67 (32% D – 48% R – 16% DS)

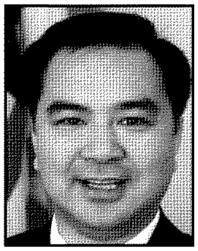
Silva (D)	**24,487**	**100**
Harman (R*)	**43,284**	**100**
Westwell (L)	**363**	**100**

DISTRICT 68 (33% D – 44% R – 18% DS)

Snook (D)	**16,684**	**100**
Leyes (R)	14,781	44
Tran (R)	**19,020**	**56**



Leyes



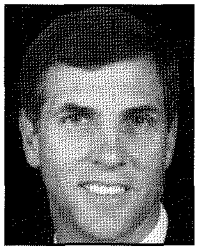
Tran

Come November, Garden Grove City Councilman Van Tran will become the first Vietnamese-American ever elected to state government in California and the highest-ranking Vietnamese elected official anywhere in the country. To reach that milestone, the 39-year-old Tran scored an impressive victory over fellow city councilman Mark Leyes in a campaign marred by negative hits, smears and charges of vote fraud. Tran was boosted by an outpouring of financial support from Orange Co.'s Vietnamese community, as well as backing from a group of moderate county Republicans known as the New Majority. Tran did not rely solely on the Asian community, however. As was noted during the campaign, he had two headquarters — one in Little Saigon and one in Costa Mesa, which has as many registered voters as his native Garden Grove. Tran also spent much time walking precincts in Costa Mesa. In terms of money, both candidates raised about the same amount after the first of the year, although Tran continued to haul in contributions through Election Day, while Leyes' fund raising seemed to dry up in mid-February. Tran also spent nearly twice as much as Leyes during the first six weeks of 2004 — $247,000 to $127,000. The overall campaign was intense throughout, with each contestant trying to portray himself as the one true conservative — and portray the other fella as a camouflaged Democrat. Toward the end, the intensity slid off a cliff and into negative hits. Tran repeatedly reminded voters that Leyes had once been a Democrat, while Leyes' camp accused his opponent of voter fraud and of mishandling absentee ballots after a Tran campaign worker took a handful of completed ballots to the registrar of voters in violation of state law. Because the local DA had endorsed Tran, the matter was referred to the state attorney general. Tran maintained that it was an innocent mistake, but Leyes continued to press the issue. Meanwhile, the Tran camp complained that Leyes' allies were making election eve calls in the district, warning voters that Tran was busing illegal immigrants to the polls. Leyes denied any connection to the callers. Tran now can prepare for his fall campaign against Democrat Al Snook. With an 11-point registration edge, Tran won't need to work up a sweat.

DISTRICT 69 (50% D – 31% R – 16% DS)

Alvarez (D)	7,057	49
Umberg (D)	**7,384**	**51**
Bade (R)	**5,264**	**58**
Ross (R)	3,835	42
Reis (L)	**123**	**100**

Alvarez


Umberg

The Democratic primary was an illusion. First, it was not about this Assembly seat, being vacated by termed-out Democrat Lou Correa. Instead, it was about the state Senate seat now held by Democrat Joe Dunn, who is termed out in 2006. The winner of this contest is poised to succeed Dunn. Second, the primary was not between former Assm. Tom Umberg and Santa Ana City Councilwoman Claudia Alvarez. The two candidates merely fronted for the real combatants — trial lawyers who backed Umberg and insurance companies, Indian tribes and the California Latino Alliance who backed Alvarez. Both sides poured huge contributions and IEs into the district. A note to supporters from Umberg a week before the election complained that Alvarez allies had spent nearly $700,000 — much of it for negative ads. The same note failed to mention that his own effort had been boosted by $400,000 from trial lawyers. Umberg, who has only one term remaining in the Assembly, has been gone from the Legislature since 1996 when he ran unsuccessfully for attorney general. He subsequently lost a race for insurance commissioner in 2002. The campaign itself was mostly negative, befitting the way the candidates' financiers view each other. Alvarez harped on the fact that Umberg is a carpetbagger, having moved into the district from Villa Park a year ago just to run for the seat. Umberg hit back by pointing out that Alvarez was inexperienced despite her tenure on the Santa Ana council. Alvarez trailed by some 300 votes on Election Day, although the outcome was initially considered too close to call, given the number of absentee ballots yet to tally. Alvarez can look forward to running again in 2006, when Umberg will be termed out.

DISTRICT 70 (28% D – 51% R - 18% DS)

Mariz (D)	**23,854**	**100**
Cristich (R)	12,684	27
Devore (R)	**22,122**	**46**
Gupta (R)	487	1
Pham (R)	1,493	3
Wagner (R)	7,042	15
Zippi (R)	3,985	8
Baldwin (L)	**419**	**100**

This was a pleasant little stroll down Primary Lane. Half a dozen Republicans sought to succeed Republican John Campbell, who ran for the state Senate, and they produced an election awash in money and negative bombs. The two main antagonists represented distinct wings of the Republican Party. Chuck Devore is a conservative who once worked for the Reagan administration; Cristi Cristich is a pro-choice moderate who backed Bill Clinton for president in 1996. Their respective politics generated IE campaigns from philosophical cousins — the California Republican Assembly for Devore, the New Majority PAC for

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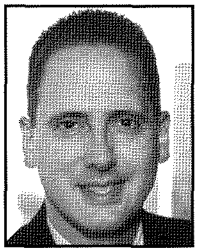

Devore

Cristich. Philosophy aside, the campaign devolved into charge and counter-charge over the final six weeks. Devore and other Republicans mashed Cristich for claiming an endorsement from local Congressman Chris Cox. Cristich sent out a mailer in February, touting a selectively edited letter from Cox that appeared to back her candidacy. But Devore and others cried foul (Devore had received the same letter), and Cox demanded that Cristich pull the mailer. Cristich's campaign also landed in hot water for claiming that Devore took money from Indian gaming tribes. A Cristich mailer dubbed her opponent "Casino Chuck" and strongly hinted that he would turn Orange Co. into Vegas West. Unfortunately, the charge was false; Devore never received a dime from the tribes. Cristich lobbed a few other grenades, accusing Devore of dodging the issue of federal amnesty for illegal immigrants. Ultimately, Devore's conservative brand of Republicanism played better in this part of Orange Co. than did Cristich's more moderate politics. And despite a campaign that cost roughly $875,000 — some $350,000 from her own purse — Cristich finished a distant second.

DISTRICT 71 (27% D – 55% R – 15% DS)

Foster (D)	**18,955**	**100**
Spitzer (R*)	**43,107**	**100**

DISTRICT 72 (32% D – 49% R – 15% DS)

Johnson (D)	**17,985**	**100**
Daucher (R*)	**33,229**	**100**
Cross (L)	**252**	**100**

After a distinguished career that included stints as minority leader of both the Senate and Assembly, Ross Johnson seeks to return to the lower house as... uh ... a ... hmmm ... Democrat. No, wait. Wrong Ross Johnson.

DISTRICT 73 (27% D – 52% R – 17% DS)

Calzada (D)	**19,715**	**100**
Gibson (R)	13,099	29
Walters (R)	**18,839**	**42**
Wilson (R)	13,228	29
Favor (L)	**391**	**100**

Laguna Niguel councilwoman Mimi Walters won a surprisingly easy victory over Orange Co. Supe. Tom Wilson and Vista school board member Joe Gibson in the race to succeed termed-out Republican Pat Bates. Walters, who is independently wealthy, was Bates' choice and also was backed by the New Majority PAC of moderate Orange Co. Republicans. The contest was spiced up by the fact that Wilson and Walters are old allies whose relationship deteriorated when both decided to run. Walters had strongly backed Wilson's re-election effort to the Board of Supervisors in 2001 and felt blindsided when Wilson chose to run for the Assembly after being informed that she sought the seat. What Walters saw as a "betrayal" put an edge to her campaign, and she never let an opportunity pass to jab at Wilson. Her most pointed barbs came over his support from labor groups and the California Teachers' Assn., which Walters spun as putting him in the pocket of labor. Wilson countered by likening himself to Gov. Schwarzenegger, saying that he could build alliances with Democrats. That may not be the appropriate message to deliver to Orange Co. Republicans, as the results indicate. Gibson's hope lay in the fact that Walters and Wilson share the same Orange Co. base while he was the only candidate from San Diego Co., which supplies about 30% of the GOP vote. Gibson indeed won the San Diego portion, but by less than 100 votes over Walters. San Diego, on the other hand, proved to be Wilson's ruin as he lagged more than 2,000 votes behind his two competitors. Walters breezed through the Orange Co. portion as well, defeating Wilson on their home turf by some 3,000 votes.

DISTRICT 74 (29% D – 48% R – 19% DS)

Underwood (D)	**24,644**	**100**
Wyland (R*)	**40,463**	**100**
King (L)	**414**	**100**

DISTRICT 75 (29% D – 46% R – 21% DS)

Huemann (D)	**24,514**	**100**
Plescia (R*)	**38,328**	**100**
Senecal (L)	**413**	**100**

DISTRICT 76 (39% D – 33% R – 21% DS)

Hall (D)	11,646	31
Saldana (D)	**15,331**	**41**
Von Szeliski (D)	10,524	28
Hunter (R)	**17,821**	**71**
Stamps (R)	7,291	29
Osborne (L)	**539**	**100**

Hall

In the immortal words of Gomer Pyle: "Surprise! Surprise! Surprise!" Nearly every indicator available before Election Day pointed to a close contest between former Gray Davis aide Vince Hall and pollster Heidi von Szeliski. The indicators were correct — to a degree. Hall and von Szeliski were separated by only 1,000 votes. Unfortunately, that was only good for second and third place behind community college instructor and neophyte candidate Lori Saldana, an environmental activist who polled well early on but who was not believed to have the resources to keep up with her two better-known opponents. But, as one Sacramento insider quipped, the result was a murder-suicide, as Hall and von Szeliski savaged each other with heavy attack ads best described as "variations on a theme," the theme being truth. Saldana sent out her share of negativity, but Hall and von Szeliski were so focused on each other that the eventual winner skipped by under the radar screen. The most notable hit came from Hall, who hammered von Szeliski as a tool of Wal-Mart because her firm once polled for a client associated with the big-box retailer, which is about as popular as an off-shore oil rig among Democrats. Saldana drew some criticism for sending out mailers with pictures of local officials — who were actively endorsing her opponents — but her campaign was regarded as so insignificant that her mailers hardly drew attention from the warring camps. For her part, Saldana credited shoe leather for her victory, saying she walked precincts and campaigned door-to-door. In terms of money, she was outspent by ridiculous margins. The California Teachers' Assn., for instance, dumped a $100,000 IE into the district on behalf of von Szeliski — an amount four times Saldana's entire treasury. And that IE was dwarfed by the $330,000-plus worth of IE messages for Hall spray-painted throughout the district by a variety of backers that included Moderate Democrats for California, prison guards and EdVoice. Saldana now faces former Assm. Tricia Hunter in November in a district very much in play. Hunter last served in the Assembly back in 1992.

DISTRICT 77 (30% D – 48% R – 17% DS)

Larkin (D)	**22,190**	**100**
LaSuer (R*)	**40,828**	**100**
Hall (L)	**380**	**100**

DISTRICT 78 (42% D – 36% R – 18% DS)

Davis (D)	**12,533**	**42**
Ricasa (D)	8,916	30
Sherard (D)	8,666	29
S.Horton (R*)	**24,516**	**100**
Hale (L)	**229**	**100**

This is another Democratic primary where trial lawyers sunk a maharaja's treasure into a race, in this case into the candidacy of Arlie Ricasa, but were rewarded with the red ribbon. The blue ribbon went to Patty Davis, a member of the Chula Vista City Council who was backed by a laundry list of local Democrats, including Sens. Denise Ducheny and Dede Alpert. She won despite hits from an anonymous last-second mailer that associated her with illegal drugs because her adult son had been busted on marijuana charges and later pled guilty to a misdemeanor. Both her opponents denied any involvement with the mailer. Davis also suffered at the hands of a second opponent, retired college professor Maxine Sherard, because a Davis consultant had records subpoenaed by the FBI, which is investigating another election. Sherard, who became the election's pit bull, also took on Ricasa, charging that a complaint against Ricasa had been filed with the state Fair Political Practices Commission, although no record of such a complaint existed at the time. For her part, Sherard touted an endorsement from the state Democratic Party, which did not endorse in this primary. She also claimed in another mailer that she was the only candidate with a record of community service — a stretch of the facts given that Davis is a councilwoman and Ricasa serves on a school board. All of the negativity went for naught, however, as Davis fashioned a relatively easy victory. What so attracted Democrats to Davis was her eerie resemblance to the first-term incumbent — Republican Shirley Horton. Davis, like Horton, is a former president of the local board of realtors, as well as a councilwoman. That track record, Democrats hope, will neutralize Horton's base of support in the business community.

DISTRICT 79 (46% D – 31% R – 18% DS)

Vargas (D*)	**19,164**	**100**
Conroe (L)	**109**	**100**

Will the Legislature see its first-ever Libertarian member? No.

DISTRICT 80 (44% D – 40% R – 12% DS)

Andreas (D)	**18,859**	**100**
Garcia (R*)	**18,085**	**100**

Democrats have been miffed for two years that they lost this seat to Republican Bonnie Garcia, and they have recruited the former chairwoman of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians to take her on. As vote totals in the primary suggest, this will be a tough and expensive fall for both sides.

— A.G. Block

ELECTION GLITCHES

California's first major foray into computerized, touch-screen voting — some 2.4 million voters in 14 counties used the new high-tech system on March 2 — did not end well. In part, the problems stemmed from poorly trained poll workers who were not versed in the new technology.

In San Diego County, more than a third of the polling places failed to open on time because of technical glitches. Alameda County reported problems at 200 precincts in the early hours of Election Day, San Bernardino County's tally was slowed for hours and in Orange County an estimated 7,000 voters got the wrong ballots. One San Diego precinct showed a 10-vote difference between the number of signatures on the voter log and the number of ballots the computer counted, while in Encinitas poll workers turning on their computer system, shortly before the polls opened, found a Windows software screen — not the screen they had been trained to expect.

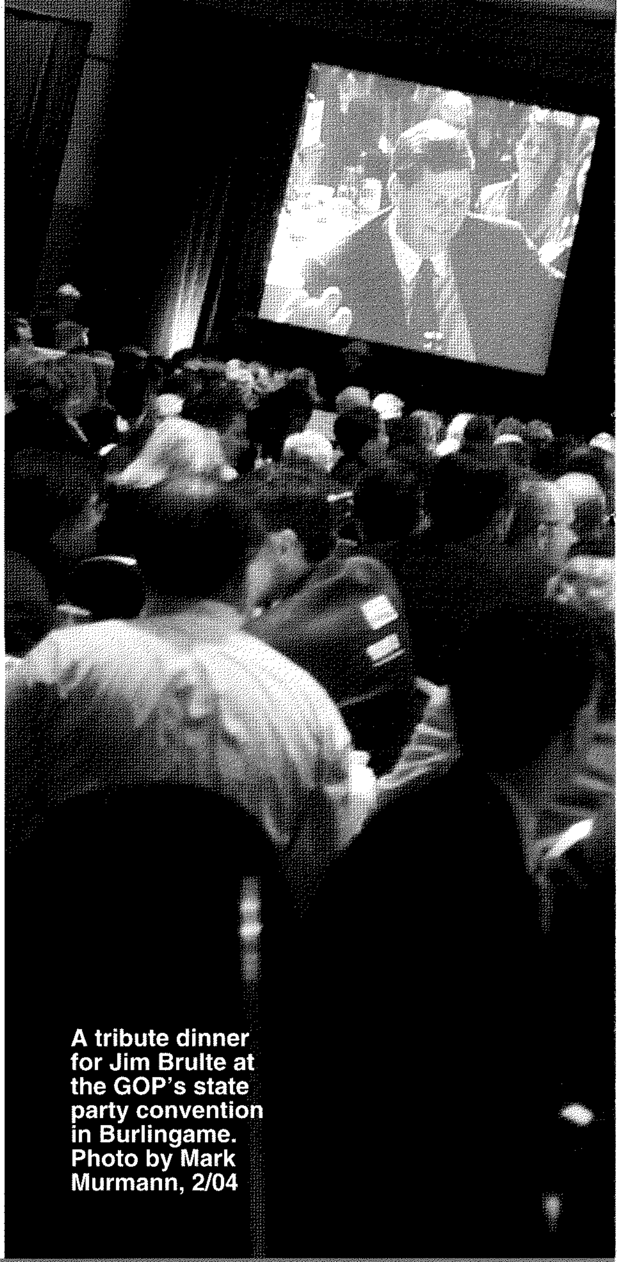
"I think it's fair to say from the evidence so far that the test flight crashed and burned," said Sen. Don Perata (D-Oakland), head of the Senate Elections Committee. Perata and Sen. Ross Johnson (R-Irvine) asked Secretary of State Kevin Shelley, the state's top elections officer, to halt touch-screen voting until the bugs can be worked out. Shelley said an investigation is underway.

In the context of millions of votes, the glitches on March 2 appeared minor, and no races were contested because of mechanical or technical meltdowns. But looking toward November, nobody wants a reprise of Election 2000. Any glitch, minor or not, could send a close race into the courts — as happened four years ago when a divided U.S. Supreme Court decided the presidential race for Republican George W. Bush 36 days after the election.

One thing's certain: Any election glitch in November won't be blamed on hanging chads.

— By John Howard

State Senator Jim Brulte — the GOP's Renaissance man — is the Legislature's most prominent and accomplished Republican. But like his Democratic counterpart, John Burton, Brulte is termed out in 2004 and must hand over his caucas leadership. Is Brulte's departure the end of an era? **By John Howard**



A tribute dinner for Jim Brulte at the GOP's state party convention in Burlingame. Photo by Mark Murmann, 2/04

The GOP's big

At 6-foot-4 with a Cheshire cat grin, Jim Brulte is hard to miss. Especially tonight, as he strode toward center stage at the state Republican Party convention. A fulsome slide-show of his life had lit up the Burlingame Hyatt's mammoth TV monitors for the past hour and a videotape celebrated his political deeds. "This isn't too sappy, is it?" one viewer wondered aloud, as speaker after convention speaker lauded the Senate GOP leader, who is stepping down after 14 years in the Legislature.

Sappy or not, Brulte's departure is a loss for Republicans. An era is passing, and they know it. He is the GOP's Renaissance man. On one level, he is a Capitol

California Republican Party

man moves out

dealmaker. On another, a policy wonk. On still another, he is a political operative with ties to the White House and a leading California player in President George W. Bush's re-election campaign. He negotiates budgets, he whacks wayward Republicans in his flock, he gets his message into the media without leaving fingerprints and he mixes policy and politics with ease.

"He's the best I ever saw at figuring out what has to be done and how to get there," said Burt Southard, an aide to San Bernardino County Supervisor Bill Postmus, himself a former Brulte aide.

"Nobody can play the media better without being quoted in the media," added one Republican staffer. A perfect example was California's electricity deregulation disaster. Brulte coauthored the original legislation along with former Senator Steve Peace (D-Chula Vista), but Brulte emerged politically unscathed by the grid's meltdown five years later — unlike Peace,

A meeting of the new "Big Three:" Governor-elect Arnold Schwarzenegger, Senate President pro Tem John Burton and Senate Minority Leader Jim Brulte. Photo: Rich Pedroncelli, AFP/Getty, 10/22/03

who was badly tarred.

In seniority, experience, temperament and training, Brulte may be the GOP's last major legislative leader of his kind, steeped in politics from an early age. He was elected to the Assembly in 1990, the same year that voters approved term limits of six years for the Assembly and eight for the Senate.

"Jim Brulte is leaving, Ross Johnson is leaving. Essentially, the adults are leaving home, and the kids are in charge," said GOP political strategist Ray McNally. "They are losing all their experienced, seasoned lawmakers who know how to make the process work."

Political skills aside, the Senate's numbers are not friendly to any Republican leader. Democrats rule the house 25-15 and are likely to retain that edge after the November elections. The Republicans can play two cards: They can block the state budget that traditionally requires 27 votes to pass and, for the first time in five years, they have a Republican governor with the power of veto.

This change will benefit Brulte's likely successor, Senator Dick Ackerman (R-Irvine), currently vice chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, when the leadership baton is handed to him sometime this summer. Ackerman, an urbane Orange County attorney, was the Republican caucus' first choice to succeed Brulte.

Brulte ascending

Brulte took over the Republican leadership from Johnson, also of Irvine, in April 2000, midway through then-Governor Gray Davis' first term. The combination of a Democratic governor and a Democrat-controlled Legislature proved daunting, particularly in the Senate, where majority Democrats were led by John Burton of San Francisco, Brulte's political nemesis. Burton, like Brulte, is forced to leave because of voter-approved term limits. Unlike Brulte, Burton's successor has not been chosen (see *CJ*, March 2004).

"But Brulte should get credit for leading the Republicans during their years in the desert, when it was very difficult for Republicans to raise money. They were outspent tremendously by Democrats and with the gerrymandered districts, there were fewer competitive seats. But he still managed to pick up one seat," said Republican analyst Tony Quinn, co-author of "The Target Book" on legislative and election strategy.

Having a Republican in the governor's office adds immeasurably to the clout of a GOP legislative leader. The leader is the governor's point person in the Legislature, negotiates on the governor's behalf, carries the weight of the governor onto the floor and into the caucuses. The leader's basic message: The governor will veto anything he doesn't like.

Brulte is viewed as a strong leader within Republican ranks for his role in negotiating partisan redistricting plans and the state budget, and for his threat to campaign against any Republican who voted in favor of tax increases — a position he says was distorted by the media. "I didn't say I would campaign against them. I said I would go into their individual districts and we would have discussions," Brulte said, straight-faced.

Republicans are loath to criticize Brulte, but not all were happy under his reign.

"I think our party is too polarized. I find very little movement in the caucus," said former Senator Maurice Johannessen (R-Redding), who was appointed to head the Veterans Affairs Department by Davis after being termed out of the Senate in 2002. Johannessen angered Republicans for voting with Democrats in favor of the 2002-2003 budget, then accepted a position in Davis' administration.

Few disagree that the Legislature has been polarized and dysfunctional, in part because of redistricting plans that Brulte himself helped negotiate. That dysfunction had an unlikely victim in Gray Davis. Curiously, Brulte and Davis campaign strategist Garry South agree that Davis' political troubles stemmed from his inability to crack down on the Legislature, particularly on Democratic leaders such as Burton.

The problem wasn't that the Legislature failed to implement Davis' vision — whatever that was — but that the governor implemented the Legislature's vision once Davis got into trouble. Democrats "rammed through legislation on straight party-line votes," South said, noting that Davis paid a political price for signing such bills as driver's licenses for illegal immigrants and expanded health care financed by employers.

> **"Essentially, the adults are leaving home, and the kids are in charge ... [Senate Republicans] are losing all their experienced, seasoned lawmakers who know how to make the process work."**
>
> **— Ray McNally**

"The governor is supposed to be the adult, the parent, and he has to say know how to say 'no' to the children," Brulte said.

In addition to Brulte and Burton, eight other senators are leaving this year, and all but one of them — Rico Oller of Loomis who lost his bid for Congress in the March primary — is being forced out by term limits. A fourth of the 40-member Senate will depart, including its most senior members.

"Let's face it, for all practical purposes, the Legislature is a mess," adds South. "Term limits have essentially destroyed the Legislature. There are serious problems with the Legislature, part of it is term limits, part is the redistricting that was done as a bipartisan gerrymander of the worst order and part of it was the return to the closed primary. I call these three things the unholy trinity of legislative dysfunction. There is nothing that any leader, no matter how much experience he or she brings to the office, can do about any one of those things," South added.

Call him "Bubbles"

Brulte, who turns 48 this month, is no political prodigy but he comes close. He lives and breathes politics, even handling political business on the phone while in the bath, which led to his private nickname, "Bubbles." He delivered campaign flyers and bumper stickers for Ronald Reagan in 1966 at the age of 10 in fiercely conservative Ontario. In junior high and high school, he haunted the local GOP headquarters, where he helped put together rallies, register voters and walk precincts for candidates.

"His family lived about a mile from us, and his mother would bring him by the hand to meetings at our place," recalled Maggie Stewart, 82, a Republican community activist who quickly put Brulte to work as a gofer and errand boy. "He was very, very smart."

Forty years later, Brulte acknowledges that "Maggie gave me my start."

After Chaffey High School — where he was student body president — Brulte earned a political science degree from Cal Poly, Pomona, in 1980. He headed to Washington, D.C., to work for former Republican U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa — and wound up as the U.S. Senate's only male receptionist. Later, he worked on then-Vice President George Bush's advance team, on the staff of the Republican National Committee and in the Pentagon as an assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for reserve affairs.

In 1985 Brulte refocused his career on California rather than Washington, D.C., following the death of his father, Bill, who had been an executive at TRW. As Brulte tells it, he was a continent away when he received word that his father was dying, and although he hopped the first available flight and was able to speak briefly with his father before surgery, the two were never able to carry on another conversation before his father died a few months later. It was an experience Brulte did not want to repeat with his mother, so he sought political work closer to home. Brulte took a job with former Assemblyman Charles Bader (R-Pomona), who ran unsuccessfully for the state Senate in 1990. Brulte ran for Bader's Assembly seat, won it, and six years later went to the Senate.

Brulte was the first freshman to hold leadership positions in both houses of the Legislature. He is regarded as the smartest of California's Republican politicians, although he has little taste himself for high office, a predilection that frustrates his admirers.

"He's still the perfect advance man. He'll always be an advance man. He puts the deals together, then he gets out of the way. He thought about running once statewide [for treasurer in 1997], but he doesn't want to run for statewide office. I don't know why, maybe it's a privacy thing," said one Capitol staffer who knows Brulte well.

Privacy is a recurring theme that surfaces in interviews about Brulte, who is remarkably private for a political leader. Despite 14 years at or near the center of every major political battle in the Capitol, Brulte remains little known outside a tight circle. His older brother, Bob, who has a background in radio, works in the Capitol as a media specialist for the Republican caucuses. His younger brother, Rick, teaches at Chaffey Union High School in Ontario and at Chaffey College, a two-year college. Brulte remains close to both brothers.

A not-so-private side of Brulte was his weight loss. Although he once weighed over 350 pounds, Brulte underwent gastric-bypass surgery several years ago and has since dropped more than 120 pounds.

There has been much speculation about Brulte's political future, and it was widely believed that he would head back to Washington, D.C., to work for the Bush administration. But Brulte told *California Journal* that he planned to remain in California to help care for his 82-year-old mother, Helen "Fergie" Brulte.

Modesty is an elusive trait in any politician, much less a Senate leader, but it may actually apply to Brulte. So does obscurity: Except in his Rancho Cucamonga-based district, Brulte is little known outside the tight world of politicians, political junkies, the Capitol and the press corps. That's fine with Brulte, who will leave office after the November election. He plans to run for Republican Claude Parrish's seat on the state Board of Equalization in 2006, although he is carefully vague about his plans next year after he leaves the Senate. "It'll be something in the private sector," is all he'll say.

Brulte will be a hard act to follow, said Dennis Catron of Temecula, a co-chairman of the state Republican Party's volunteer groups.

"Brulte has access to the presidency and vice versa. Overall, Brulte has a positive reflection in the party," Catron said. "I hope there isn't a void after he leaves."

John Howard is senior editor of California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

Jim Brulte jokes with the audience at his farewell dinner during the GOP state party convention. Photo by Mark Murmann, 2/04

Jim Brulte

Personal

Born April 13, 1956 in Glen Cove, New York

Moved to Ontario, CA, at the age of four

Education

Chaffey High School, Ontario

National Airman of the Year, 1977. Member, California Air National Guard

Attended Azusa Pacific University and Chaffey College; bachelor's degree in political science from Cal Poly Pomona, 1980.

Early Career

Field representative, U.S. Sen. S.I. Hayakawa

Republican National Committee, Washington, D.C.

Advance man, Vice President George Bush

Chief of staff to Assemblyman Charles Bader

The tax shoe

By Susan Rasky

The Field Poll asked likely voters just a week before the March election what they thought might happen if the measure authorizing $15 billion in economic recovery bonds was defeated. Forty-two percent said they believed state and local taxes would go up, and 41 percent said they expected big cuts in state services, including education and health care.

In hindsight, the more intriguing question is whether voters believed *approval* of the bonds would spare them such unpleasantness. It's hard to imagine they did. But since none of the exit polls conducted by major media organizations bothered to ask that question, only Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger's pollsters may know for sure.

So the bonds are now on their way to market, and the Legislature is eyeing big cuts in state services, including education and health care. The question remaining is the one that has always been most tantalizing about the Schwarzenegger administration: when and how the tax shoe drops.

There is enough technical budget expertise on both sides of the aisle in Sacramento to fuzz up a budget for another year.

Quite apart from the obvious hurdle of the two-thirds vote requirement for raising taxes, both tradition and budgeting procedures work against consideration of tax increases this early in the process. The legislative committees most closely involved in overseeing the budget, for example, limit their review to the spending side of the ledger and rarely discuss tax options in public. The non-partisan Legislative Analyst's Office does provide some broad policy perspective on tax issues in its annual budget analysis and in periodic reports, all of which are public. But the need to remain non-partisan keeps the LAO from being a full player in the debate.

At the Department of Finance, despite sophisticated analysis of revenue flows and impacts on the economy, policy discussions are also largely internal, and there is no systematic, periodic review of tax structure.

By the time the budget debate filters down to the public, taxes aren't treated as part of a policy discussion, only as interchangeable revenue plugs when warring budget factions have exhausted their ability to cut spending.

Advantage Arnold.

If the governor's extraordinary campaign on behalf of the bonds proved anything, it is the importance of framing and simplifying an issue. His public opposition to tax increases is rather beside the point, and Democrats are foolish to get hung up on it.

What matters, given the sheer magnitude of the structural budget deficit, is whether Democrats can build a solid public case to make taxes part of the budget solution this year and take the governor with them, or whether the governor gets to dictate the shape and terms of the inevitable tax hikes when he rolls out his budget next January.

As recently as a decade ago, the Legislature routinely produced comprehensive alternatives to administration budgets. In the last five years, a period when Democrats controlled both the Legislature and the governor's office, lawmakers have responded to the administration on a program-by-program basis. That piecemeal approach not only makes it difficult to craft sensible tax policy but also works against multi-year budget strategies. Term limits, of course, don't help.

Democrats can't do much about budget procedures within the administration or about term limits in the short term, but they could be smarter about how they explain the policy choices that have to be made in the next few months. The most basic is whether to tackle the fundamental mismatch between spending and revenue — the $15 billion-a-year structural deficit that will persist even if economic growth improves dramatically — or whether to aim for the quick, one-year fix.

If you thought there were no more quick fixes — because the governor said so or because the budget technicians had run out of gimmicks — think again. There is enough technical budget expertise on both sides of the aisle in Sacramento to fuzz up a budget for another year.

Going that route is bad policy, and for Democrats, really bad politics. At a time when the public is already sensitive to program cuts and arguably primed for at least some kind of tax increases, Democrats would be squandering their best budget shot in a Schwarzenegger administration. 🏛

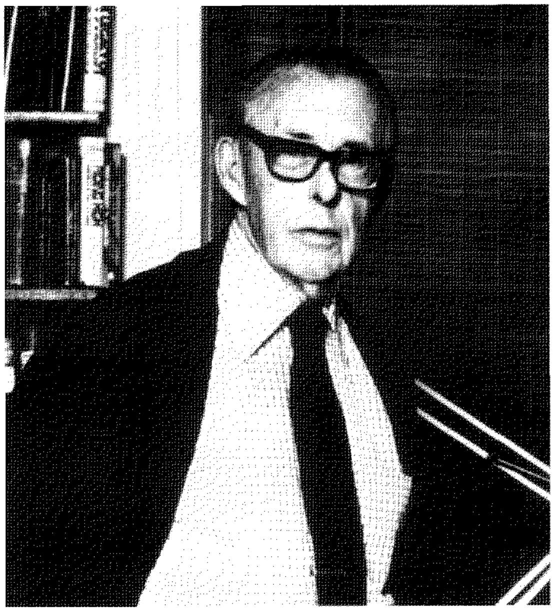
Contributing editor Susan Rasky teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism. Comments may be sent to **comments@californiajournal.com**

THE GREAT EXCEPTION

Author, editor and chronicler of California, Carey McWilliams exposed the plight of farm workers, defended blacklisted screenwriters, inspired movies such as *Chinatown*, and cast an unsparing eye on his native state. More than 60 years since his first book was published and more than 20 years after his death, McWilliams' writings have stirred up a new audience. By Peter Richardson

Almost a quarter-century after his death, and more than 60 years after his first book on California rocked the state, Carey McWilliams is back in fashion. The self-described "native radical," whose books combined a leftist perspective with solid research and a trenchant style, is once again enjoying the favor of journalists, academics and aficionados of California social, economic and political history.

"His reputation, I think, is still growing," says historian Kerwin Klein of the University of California, Berkeley. "It might be rather stronger now than it was during his lifetime."



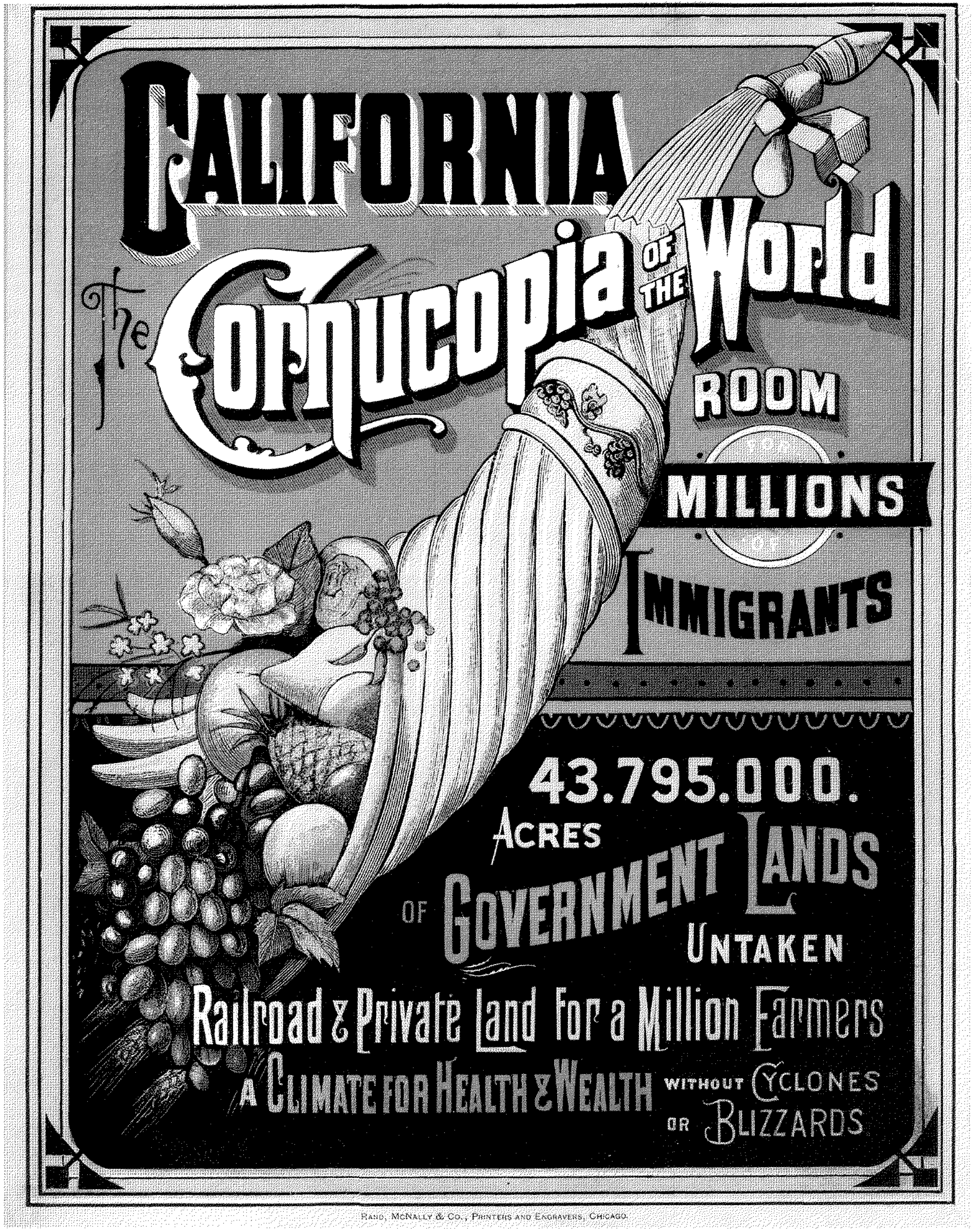
Carey McWilliams

During the 1990s, two recipients of the prestigious MacArthur Fellowship sang his praises, and Hollywood screenwriter Robert Towne credited him with inspiring *Chinatown,* one of the most widely admired Hollywood films of the 1970s. In 1999, the University of California Press re-issued two of his books: "California: The Great Exception" (1949), generally regarded as a minor California classic; and "Factories in the Field" (1939), an expose of farm labor practices that UWF founder Cesar Chavez considered unmatched in its perception and interpretation.

In 2001, an anthology of his work was published to excellent reviews, and the following year, historian and California State Librarian Kevin Starr pronounced McWilliams "the single finest non-fiction writer on California — ever."

What accounts for this upsurge in McWilliams' critical acclaim? Part of the answer lies in McWilliams' prodigious output, which "nailed the essence of California in a way that has never been duplicated," according to columnist Peter King of the *Los Angeles Times*. It's also due to McWilliams' extraordinary range and insight.

"He was immensely perceptive about agriculture and social relations around immigration," says Michael Teitz of the Public Policy Institute of California. "He understood the multicultural nature of California's population long before the word was in-


CALIFORNIA
The Cornucopia of the World
ROOM
FOR
MILLIONS
OF
IMMIGRANTS
43.795.000.
ACRES
OF GOVERNMENT LANDS
UNTAKEN
Railroad & Private Land for a Million Farmers
A CLIMATE FOR HEALTH & WEALTH WITHOUT CYCLONES OR BLIZZARDS
RAND, MCNALLY & CO., PRINTERS AND ENGRAVERS, CHICAGO.

An 1885 poster lauding the promise of a new life in California. From the California State Library collection.

vented. And he understood the sources of California's astonishing ability to remake itself as a society and as an engine of economic development."

McWilliams' lucid style is another source of his appeal. "Unlike the hermetic academic prose of today, his writing is as clear as it is impassioned and informed," notes California author Gray Brechin.

As a result, his books were popular as well as respected; "Factories in the Field," for example, joined John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath" on the best-seller list in 1939 and stayed there for months.

Debunking the Myth

Although McWilliams' books sold reasonably well during his lifetime, they did not cater to popular images of California. Instead, they tapped the undercurrents that shaped the state's distinctive history: brutal labor disputes, chronic conflicts over water, the mistreatment of minority groups, business booms and busts, and the emergence of media politics. Taken together, the writings of McWilliams, a former lawyer, built an impressive case to refute the early-day boosters' view of California as an earthly paradise.

"McWilliams peeled back the giddy and gaudy orange-crate label of official state history," says Brechin, who's written several books on contemporary California.

The sanity of McWilliams' judgments, even those forged in times of crisis, is also striking. He questioned the Japanese-American internment in 1944, opposed the state Legislature's investigation of un-American activities in 1949, and noted Congressman Richard Nixon's "astonishing capacity for petty malice" in 1950. Many Americans would eventually share these views, which McWilliams supported with measured reviews of key facts.

Carey McWilliams
CALIFORNIA
THE GREAT EXCEPTION
Foreword by Lewis H. Lapham

(Above) California farmworkers in the fields, circa 1930s. (Inset) Book jacket from Carey McWilliams' book, "The Great Exception." Photo by Dorothea Lange.

"McWilliams had an ability to remain non-dogmatic while attacking tough and highly emotional issues," notes writer Greg Critser, a regular contributor to *USA Today* and author of several books.

Although many talented writers today trace a line between McWilliams' concerns and their own, his work is widely perceived as less polemic and more reliable. For example, Mike Davis' "City of Quartz" (1990) and "Ecology of Fear" (1998), which feature Los Angeles and its extravagant contrasts and problems, owe a significant debt to McWilliams' account of that city's "exceptionalism." Like Davis, McWilliams was controversial in his day.

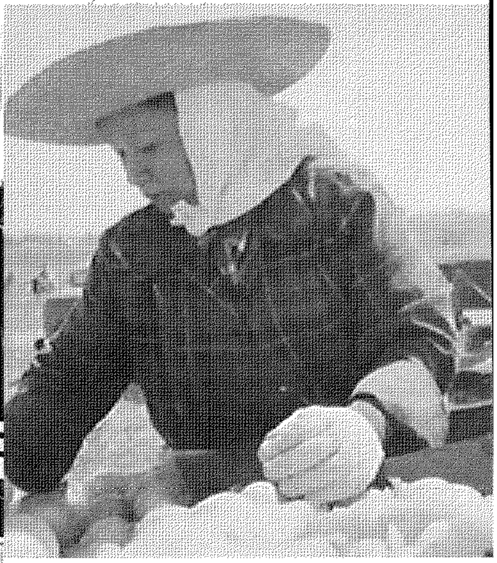
Following the publication of "Factories in the Field," the Associated Farmers labeled him "Agricultural Pest No. 1, worse than pear blight or boll weevil." Earl Warren announced that his first official act as governor in 1943 would be to fire McWilliams as chief of the state's Department of Immigration and Housing, a post he held under Democratic Gov. Culbert Olson. But while McWilliams' views were frequently unpopular, he maintained a honest regard for the facts when describing the state's history, landscape, climate, population and economy.

"If we judge McWilliams' book by modern scholarly standards," notes Klein, "they were frequently superior to contemporary monographs, even though he was not a professional historian."

Few of McWilliams' successors writing on California today seem to share his affection for their subject, however. As a young man, McWilliams scorned Los Angeles for its cultural shortcomings — in an early magazine article, he called it "hopelessly vulgar" — but his mature work was tempered by his affection for the city and California as a whole.

"For my part," McWilliams wrote, "I have written of California out of boundless enthusiasm and interest and affection that existed almost from the start and has grown with years." Maintains the *Times'* Peter King, "It was this love of California that gave his criticism its enduring power."

By comparison, Davis' work is more caustic, while Brechin's



(Above) Japanese Americans awaiting relocation to an internment camp during World World II. (Upper right) A resident at Manzanar, a Japanese internment camp in California's Owens Valley. Photos: Ansel Adams

"Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin" (1999) finds little to admire in the state's Gold Rush sensibility, a crucial element of McWilliams' testament to California's uniqueness.

Yet both Davis and Brechin see McWilliams as a kindred spirit. "For those of us who lean unapologetically to the left as it flows ever farther to the right," writes Brechin, "encountering the writings of Carey McWilliams is like running into an old friend in a foreign city."

Why now?

But if McWilliams has become the foremost non-fiction writer on California, as California's state librarian proclaimed, what has inspired readers to rediscover him just now? Part of the answer may lie in specific similarities between McWilliams' era and our own.

"He wrote for tough times," says Starr. "He may be popular again because California is back on the edge."

Brechin also notes the similarity between the two eras: "The Depression, like the World Trade Center disaster, shook complacency to the roots and offered a chance to see things anew," he said.

Another reason may be today's perceived need for "public intellectuals"—generalists who can write clearly and act effectively on a range of pressing topics. In an age of increasing specialization, McWilliams has few competitors in that department. In addition to writing prolifically about literature, law and politics, he served in state government, defended blacklisted Hollywood screenwriters, wrote campaign speeches, led a successful appeal of racially-charged murder convictions, helped calm Los Angeles during the 1943 Zoot Suit Riots, and edited *The Nation* magazine for two decades. His ability to move easily between the worlds of literature, law, journalism and politics is not lost on his readers today.

"It is as a public intellectual that I most admire McWilliams," says Brechin.

McWilliams never presented himself in such exalted terms. He described "California: The Great Exception" as simply "the notes, the working papers, of a California journalist."

Yet McWilliams, who died in 1980 at the age of 75, still attracts followers with a voice that remains outrageously alive.

Peter Richardson, a Bay Area editor and writer, is completing a biography of Carey McWilliams for the University of Michigan Press. Send comments to **comments@californiajournal.com**

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Arnold and gay marriage

By Dana Wilkie

Long before he became this state's chief executive, Arnold Schwarzenegger was building a record on public policy issues. At the time, of course, the only part of him that probably concerned the public was the part that could morph for the cameras into a Terminator or a Conan. If he liked to grope starlets off camera, or inhale questionable substances, or pose nude in magazines — well, that was his business, most moviegoers probably assumed.

All the same, the actor's statements and activities were creating a record of his stance on everything from guns to abortion to gay rights. The former body builder supported gay adoptions, for instance. He embraced gay civil unions that bestowed many of the benefits of marriage. He once told the *Financial Times* of London: "I love the foreigner that comes in with no money as much as the gay person, as a lesbian... ." Another time, he told *Cosmopolitan* magazine: "I have no sexual standards in my head that say this is good or this is bad. Homosexual — that only means to me that he enjoys sex with a man and I enjoy sex with a woman. It's all legitimate to me."

> One has to wonder what great leap exists from supporting gay civil unions to supporting gay marriage.

The issue of gay marriage was afire in California when Schwarzenegger visited the National Governors Association conference in Washington, D.C., last February. Back home, San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom was thumbing his nose at California's Proposition 22 — the voter-passed measure banning gay marriage — by allowing thousands of gay marriages in his city.

Schwarzenegger, hardly a Republican of conservative stripe, demanded in strikingly conservative tones that Attorney General Bill Lockyer, a Democrat, put an end to the unions. Everywhere he went in Washington after that, reporters wanted to know: Did he personally support gay marriage? And would he back President George W. Bush's call for a constitutional amendment forbidding it?

Schwarzenegger's past indicates he may have seen little harm in legalizing gay marriages just a few years ago. Only last year — after he began running for governor and reporters pressed him — did Schwarzenegger say he opposed the idea.

As for his personal thoughts? He said only that Proposition 22 was the law of his state. And amending the constitution? The issue suddenly seemed too hot for him to touch.

"We have a law in California through Proposition 22 that makes it clear that marriage is between a man and a woman," Schwarzenegger said repeatedly at the governors' conference. "I don't have to concern myself about anything else."

Evangelical Christians are largely behind the push for a constitutional amendment saying marriage should be between one man and one woman. Yet in their Bible, Abraham was allowed to have a concubine, and Jacob had two wives.

One has to wonder what great leap exists from supporting gay civil unions to supporting gay marriage. Legally, the difference between the two comes down to property and money: Gays in civil unions still cannot file joint federal tax returns, for instance, and typically can't inherit from a gay partner without a will. But in Vermont — the only state that now allows civil unions — gays can be on the same car insurance policy, file joint state tax returns and buy joint health care coverage. In that state, civil unions have almost all the legal consequences of marriage.

In 2005, California gays will start establishing domestic partnerships that grant marriage-like benefits. Very probably, Schwarzenegger will face more questions about a constitutional amendment, and possibly about how he reconciles his past tolerance for gay rights with today's vigorous stand against gay marriage.

Many will say the governor must consider conservative voters he needs to win re-election. Some will say he is building a new record — one more in keeping with the sentiments of national voters who oppose gay marriage — should he one day run for president. Others will say he is simply behaving like any good chief executive, abiding by the will of the people and supporting the laws of his state, no matter his personal beliefs.

When there are things about California law that the new governor doesn't like — the car tax, for instance — he thinks nothing of changing the law. When state budgeting doesn't work to his satisfaction, he asks voters to approve bond measures. He has demonstrated that he is aggressive about challenging government practices and laws — or at the very least, questioning them — for what he considers a good cause.

Gay marriage seems like a cause he's content to leave alone.

Contributing editor Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for Copley News Service. Comments may be sent to **comments@californiajournal.com**

A CSU Educated Work Force is *Disappearing*

$240 million in proposed budget cuts... $300 million cut last year... mid-year reductions of another $23.7 million... California's commitment to a CSU education for the top one-third of high school graduates is being destroyed.

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California State University

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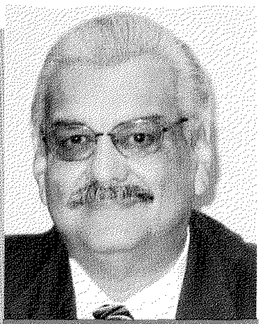
people changes

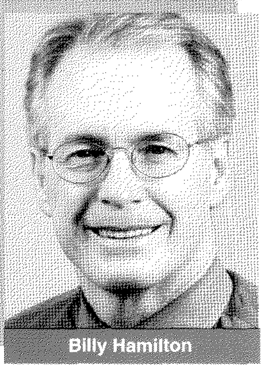
Appointments:

Who Ya Gonna Call? Waste-Busters!

Making good on his promise to cut the fat in government, Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger has hired Texas deputy state comptroller **Billy Hamilton** and California's interim DMV Director **Chon Gutierrez** to co-direct the California Performance Review, aimed at finding ways to eliminate waste in state government. Hamilton, who will take time off from his Texas job, is a veteran of numerous performance reviews for several states, as well as the Clinton White House. The California review, scheduled to be completed June 30, will poke into 14 areas of government, including technology, public safety, personnel management and environmental protection. Californians are invited to leave tips on wasteful state programs by calling the hotline at 1 (877) END WASTE (363-9278). In its first week, the review logged 5,000 calls, emails and verbal requests and received 2,000 applicants for 200 openings on its waste-busting team.



Chon Gutierrez



Billy Hamilton

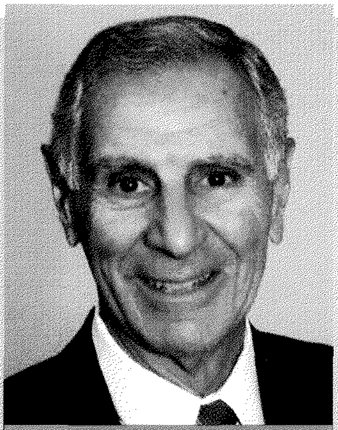
Administration

Jeanne Woodford

Shad Balch

Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger continued beefing up his administration with new appointments. **Ronald Joseph,** former Dept. of Consumer Affairs interim director, was named Chief Deputy Director of the Dept. of General Services. ... **Jerry Jolly** will head the Dept. of Alcoholic Beverage Control. ... Former GOP state Senate staffer **Calvin Rossi** was appointed director of the governor's Central Valley regional office and **Cameron Durckel,** former chief of staff to San Diego Co. Supervisor Ron Rogers, was named director of the governor's San Diego office. ... **Burks Dean Shelton,** a former police chief and law enforcement liaison to former Gov. Pete Wilson, will chair the CA Gambling Control Commission. ... **Thomas Johnson**, a consultant to Kaweah Delta Health Care District, was appointed Secretary, Dept. of Veterans Affairs. ... **Jeanne Woodford,** a former warden of San Quentin State Prison, was appointed director of the Dept. of Corrections. ... **Margarita Perez,** former parole agent and prison guard, was named chair of the Board of Prison Terms. ... To the Health and Human Services Agency, the governor appointed health and bioterrorism expert **Therese Marie Delgadillo** as deputy secretary of programs and fiscal affairs, **David M. Topp** as assistant secretary and assistant counsel, **Nicole Kasabian Evans** as associate secretary for external affairs and **Maria Campos-Vergara** as administrative assistant. ... The governor named **Arthur Baggett Jr.** as chair of the State Water Resources Control Board and re-appointed **Peter S. Silva** as a board member. ... Horse owner/breeder **Jerry Moss** will join the California Horse Racing Board. ... **Nancy Lungren,** who worked for state Sen. Rico Oller (R-San Andreas), was appointed assistant director of the Office of Community and Public Affairs for the California Youth Authority. ... **Shad Balch**, deputy press secretary to former Secretary of State Bill Jones, has been named communications director for the Dept. of Corporations. ... Democrat **Anne Baker** was appointed deputy secretary of external affairs for the California Environmental Protection Agency. ... **Kelvin Pye** was appointed assistant director of the Enterprise Systems Division of the Stephen P. Teale Data Center. ... **Anita Gore** was named assistant communications director for the Dept. of Conservation. ...

Oversight:
Back Behind Bars



George Deukmejian

Flexing his tough-on-crime credentials, Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger appointed two watchdogs to oversee California's troubled prison system: a former governor and a former state prosecutor. The appointments came in the midst of legislative hearings and widespread media coverage of corruption and waste in the state's prison and parole system. In an about-face, the governor re-instated the Office of Inspector General as an independent agency to investigate wrongdoing in the corrections system and named **Matthew Cate,** who's prosecuted public corruption cases in the attorney general's office, as its head. He also appointed former Gov. **George Deukmejian,** who oversaw the doubling of California prisons and prison inmates during his two terms in office, to head an independent panel charged with recommending ways of cutting costs and corruption. Among the reforms they'll consider are closing prisons and eliminating the alleged "code of silence" among prison guards. The panel's report is due in late June.

Richard Breitmeyer was appointed state veterinarian for the Dept. of Food and Agriculture. ... **Gary Hunt** has been appointed chair of the Calif. Bay-Delta Authority.

Legislature

Sen. **Gloria Romero** (D-Los Angeles) was named to the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy by state Sen. John Burton (D-San Francisco). ... Assembly Speaker **Fabian Nunez** (D-Los Angeles) announced his Democratic leadership team for 2004: **Leland Yee**, Speaker pro Tem; Assm. **Sally Lieber**, Assistant Speaker pro Tem; **Dario Frommer**, Majority Floor Leader/ Majority Leader; **Ron Calderon**, Assistant Majority Leader; **Lloyd Levine**, Majority Whip; and **George Nakano**, Democratic Caucus Chair. The Speaker appointed **Assm. Wilma Chan** (D-Oakland) to chair the Joint Legislative Audit Committee. Nunez also established an Office of Policy Planning and Research and named Assm. **Joe Nation** (D-San Rafael) as its head.

Kevin Riggs

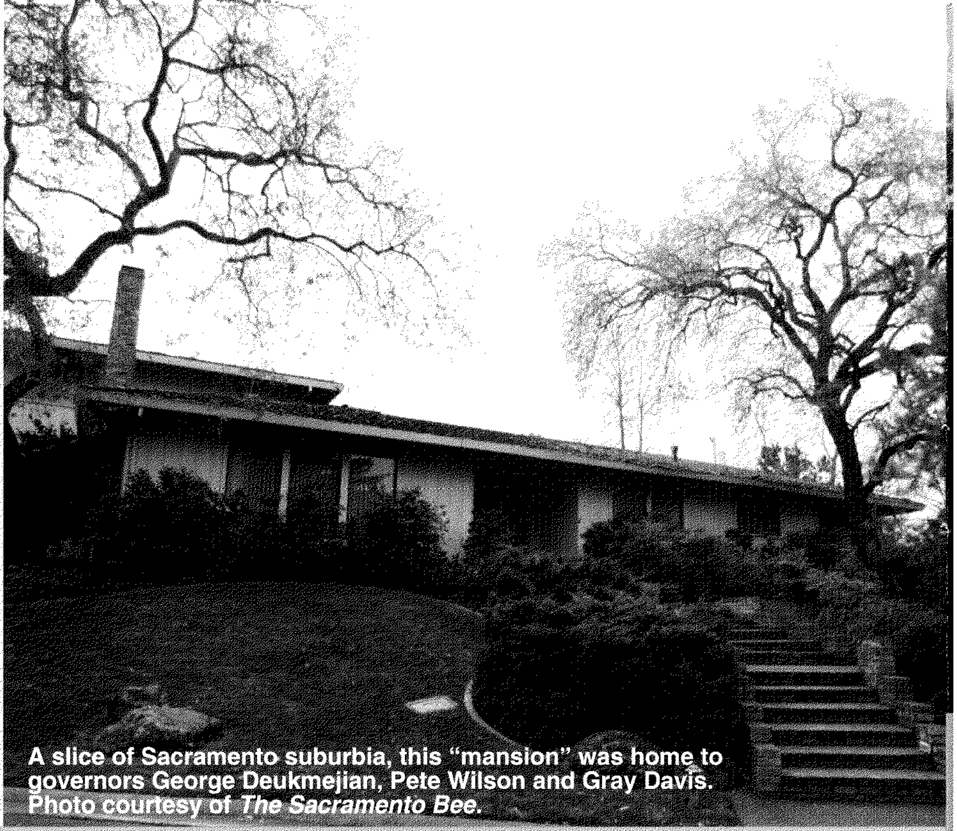
Other

Ted Maness, a former chief of staff to GOP Sen. Jon Kyl of Arizona, was tapped by Congressman George Radanovich (R-Mariposa) to be his chief of staff in Washington, D.C. ... Former Capitol staffer **Alva Vernon Johnson** is director of governmental affairs for Monteau & Peebles, a Sacramento law firm specializing in Indian issues ... The Tribal Alliance of Sovereign Indian Nations re-elected chairperson **Lynn Valbuena,** a member of the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, who also serves as secretary of the National Indian Gaming Assn. ... **Mark Paul** left his job as deputy editor and editorial page columnist for *The Sacramento Bee* to become policy director for state Treasurer Phil Angelides. ... *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter **Bob Salladay** has joined the *Los Angeles Times* Capitol Bureau after seven years with the Chron. ... **Kevin Riggs**, KCRA Channel 3's longtime Capitol reporter, will add weekend anchor duties to his resume. He'll still cover the Capitol Mondays through Wednesdays while **David Bienick**, KCRA general assignment reporter, will cover Thursdays and Fridays.

These pages are prepared with substantial help from ***"The Capitol Morning Report,"*** *a comprehensive daily e-mail and fax listing of events, appointments, staff changes, lobbyist registrations and fund raisers in and around Sacramento. For more information, call (916) 443-5883.*

Who's filling what jobs in your office? Drop us a line at **people@californiajournal.com**

He may be a multimillionaire and governor of the largest, most prosperous state in the nation, but California's governor still doesn't have an official residence to call his own. Compared with the rest of the country, where most of the nation's governors dwell in Colonial splendor, Greek-Revival landmarks or historic treasures, California's gubernatorial housing dilemma is a political oddity.


A slice of Sacramento suburbia, this "mansion" was home to governors George Deukmejian, Pete Wilson and Gray Davis. Photo courtesy of *The Sacramento Bee*.

HOMELESS IN CALIFORNIA

By Claudia Buck

In Nebraska, Governor Mike Johanns walks home for lunch from his Capitol office nearly every afternoon.

In Texas, visitors to the stately governor's mansion — a National Historic Landmark built in 1856 — are often amused to find "Lucy", the First Family's daschund, scampering across the lawn.

Even in New York City, the official home of the city's mayor, much less the governor, is Gracie Mansion, a palatial residence with a ballroom, reception areas and art gallery overlooking Manhattan's East River.

Not so in California, the nation's most populous state and the fifth-largest economy in the world, where, nearly six months after his inauguration, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger is still holing up in a rented hotel room.

As one of only six states in the country that don't have an official, permanent governor's residence, California is something of a political oddity, a situation that many find downright startling.

"It really does strike me as odd," said Karen Toussaint, director of Nebraska's governor's mansion, which is open for public teas, tours and pizza parties by visiting schoolchildren, when it's not serving as the First Family's private home.

"Y'all don't have a governor's mansion? I honestly didn't realize that," said Wendy Bengal, assistant press secretary to Texas Governor Rick Perry. "I'm going to remember that fact; it might come in handy in a trivia game sometime."

It's not so trivial a pursuit for many observers within California.

"Honestly, it's embarrassing," said former Sacramento Mayor Anne Rudin, who's serving on a citizens' committee to ensure that a new governor's mansion be built in

California's last official governor's mansion on 16th & H Streets in downtown Sacramento is now a public museum.

downtown Sacramento.

Back in 1977, author and native Californian Joan Didion, in her infamous "Many Mansions" essay, sniffed that the governor's residence — a tile-roofed home in suburban Carmichael built for the Reagans but never lived in by a California governor — was as devoid of personality as "the lobby in a Ramada Inn."

Things haven't changed all that much. Some 30 years later, California's governor is still residing in a very large inn, albeit the much swankier Hyatt Regency Hotel.

That's not expected to change anytime soon, despite the efforts of a bipartisan commission that four years ago identified two downtown sites for a gubernatorial mansion; eager city officials in West Sacramento who have offered up 43 acres of choice riverfront property as a potential governor's home and state park; and the state's new First Lady, Maria Shriver, who's embarked on some serious house-hunting in the Sacramento region.

Calling it "a dramatic instance of unfinished public business," State Librarian Kevin Starr declared four years ago that it was high time that California resolved its "glaring deficiency" and got serious about finding a permanent residence for its governors.

Maureen Pascoe envisions a permanent governor's mansion and museum on this West Sacramento site.

Movin' on out

There hasn't been an official residence since 1967, when Ronald and Nancy Reagan vacated the old governor's mansion, a vintage Victorian at 16th and H Streets, which had been home to 13 California governors and their families. With two children living at home, Mrs. Reagan felt the 1903 mansion's location on a busy downtown street corner wasn't suitable for families.

Since then, California's governors have moved around to a variety of residences and housing circumstances. In the late 1970s, Jerry Brown slept on a mattress in a rented, sparsely furnished apartment across the street from the Capitol. Governor George Deukmejian originally stayed in a hotel while commuting between the Capitol and his home in Long Beach. Eventually, the Deukmejians, along with the state's last two governors, Pete Wilson and Gray Davis, lived in a ranch-style home in a leafy, suburban Sacramento neighborhood, a 15-minute freeway drive from the Capitol. After Davis was recalled last fall, the four-bedroom house, owned by a private foundation and leased to the state for $1 a year, was sold to a Sacramento cardiologist and his wife.

Such modest gubernatorial accommodations over the years, Starr wryly noted, "offer ongoing proof" that California's elected officials are mindful of the public's dollar and "not given to lavish living."

Lavish or otherwise, there's clearly a need for an official state residence that symbolically — as well as practically — serves the state's governor. With previous governors entertaining and hosting official state functions in Los Angeles and San Francisco — and the current governor housed in a hotel room, there's a renewed urgency to finally resolve the gubernatorial housing crisis.

That's prompted a bit of a turf war in Sacramento, where civic boosters are lining up on opposing sides of the Sacramento River.

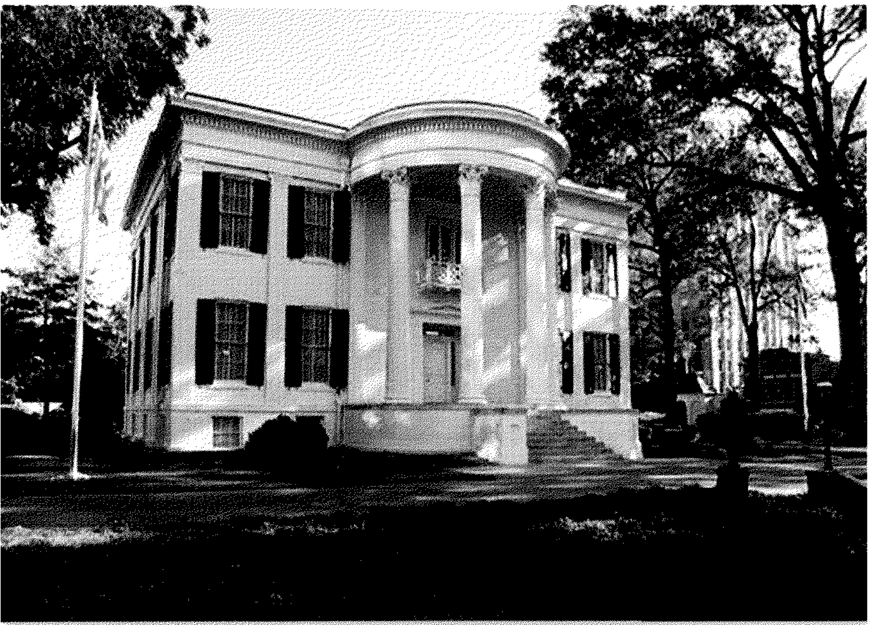
On one side are local lawmakers and city officials in Sacramento, who are adamant that a permanent governor's mansion belongs in the state Capitol. Their champion is state Senator Deborah Ortiz (D-Sacramento), whose 1999 bill created a bipartisan commission that spent eight months looking at possible sites close to the Capitol. The commission's members looked at 36 locations, including a proposal to plop it into one of five different city parks.

During its study, the commission received all sorts of helpful suggestions. Rush Ashton Taylor, a retired journalist from Los Angeles, wrote to the commission in 2000 from her retirement home on a hilltop in Lincoln, a growing bedroom community in the Sierra foothills northeast of Sacramento. She urged the commission to exercise "expanded thinking," saying the foothills areas had plenty of sites accessible by helicopter, enabling a governor to be "whisked by chopper to a mid-town pad ... on top of an existing building."

Former L.A. Mayor Sam Yorty, she noted, regularly "choppered to work" in downtown Los Angeles from his suburban home in Sherman Oaks.

While no one is recommending that Schwarzenegger chopper — or even Hummer — to work, the West Sacramento site is intended to accommodate a helicopter landing pad.

The commission eventually whittled its recommendations to two locations: the Employment Development Department (EDD) building between 8th and 9th streets on Capitol Mall and the Legislative Office Building (LOB), in the block between 10th and 11th, N and O streets. Both would be torn down and existing state employees relocated in



Mississippi's governors have occupied this mansion since 1842.

The riverfront view from the proposed governor's home in West Sacramento.

order to construct a gubernatorial residence.

Ortiz, a native Sacramentan whose parents and grandparents grew up in downtown, felt that city officials failed early in the process to aggressively go to bat for a Sacramento site. "It was very frustrating. I felt like I was the only one who cared that this stay in downtown," recalls Ortiz. "I began thinking I must have a misplaced sense of identity."

Around the same time that Ortiz's commission completed its study, Davis and his wife, Sharon, became enamored of the riverfront site offered to the state by West Sacramento officials. The governor's wife reportedly shared the concerns of some previous First Ladies that downtown wasn't suitable for a family.

The West Sacramento proposal, backed by Yolo County legislators and former state Parks Director Rusty Areias, would encompass an 11-acre home and museum site, a 32-acre state park, plus plenty of room for tour busses, motorcades and even a helicopter.

The site was originally owned by a Japanese developer, who had ambitious plans for a 600-room hotel, six restaurants and a 200-plus boat marina, adjacent to a nearby golf course and luxury home sites. Only the golf course and a tiny handful of homes were ever completed. Last year, the developer sold his interest to The Grupe Company, a Northern California developer who is currently bulldozing the golf course in order to build custom homes.

Maureen Pascoe, redevelopment program manager for West Sacramento, contends "it's important that the [governor's] house offer something to the entire state ... and the size of this parcel makes that possible, with enough room for both a state park and a residence that offers the family complete privacy."

Gesturing at the now-vacant parcel, where cottonwood trees and roosting killdeer are the only inhabitants, Pascoe enthusiastically envisions a governor's residence that would take in the sweeping views of the river as well as the Sacramento skyline across the water.

Rallying for downtown

Up until the recall of Davis last October, momentum seemed to be on the West Sac side of the river. But with Davis gone and a new governor in the corner office, a group of prominent Sacramentans, including former mayors Rudin and Burnett Miller, have rallied to the cause. Organized as the Capitol Area State House (CASH) foundation, they've enlisted the support of several city council members and other local officials for a third site, located two blocks from the Capitol on a largely empty parcel at 11th,12th, P and Q streets, close to a light rail station.

"Sacramento *is* the Capitol city,"notes Rudin. If the governor's residence were to be located anywhere other than downtown Sacramento, "it would be more than embarrassing, it would be humiliating."

Although the foundation's members have not yet approached the governor, Rudin said, "we'd like to have him on our side." They've also enlisted 30 students from a local community college's architecture class to design drawings and floorplans for a gubernatorial home.

Regardless of where the governor's residence is situated, the commission's study laid out the home's specifics, down to the laundry room and gardener's cottage.

Paul Neel, former State Architect and a retired architecture dean at California State University, San Luis Obispo, says the governor's home should be a stately, dignified presence — the "third jewel in the crown," alongside the State Library and judicial court buildings that stand to the west of the Capitol's front steps.

Thousands of Nebraskans each year visit their governor's mansion, built in 1958, for tours, teas and pizza parties.

"It's too bad they didn't stake out a site at the east end of Capitol Park 50 or 60 years ago," said Neel, who served as architectural consultant to the commission.

Although there are no floor plans, blueprints or architectural drawings for the exact look of California's future governor's home, Neel said the home's design would be opened up to an international architectural competition. Although Neel prefers it be designed by a California architect, the ultimate goal is to ensure the home becomes a classic example of civic architecture. After years of hop-

The Texas governor's mansion, former home of two future presidents named Bush.

scotching all over town, the future governor's mansion should stay put for 200-300 years, according to the commission's study.

Like the White House, it would be designed to accommodate receptions and state dinners for visiting dignitaries from around the world, with several expansive reception areas, a dining room seating 100, a 10-car garage, a public garden and a 24-hour guard's station. The private residential quarters would include 5-6 bedrooms, an exercise room and outdoor swimming pool.

The commission was politically correct enough to envision that not every governor would necessarily have a spouse and young children. It specifically notes that any gubernatorial residence must be flexible enough to accommodate a governor who might be: single, a single parent, married with grown children or no children at all, or even a couple whose parents live with them.

No one has put a pricetag on any of the proposed sites, in part because they vary greatly in terms of construction, demolition and/or remodeling costs. Once the current governor and his wife settle on a home or building site, it's expected they will launch a private foundation, similiar to those that paid for and furnished the previous two temporary residences of California's governors. Currently, there's $3.5 million sitting in a fund left over from the sale of the Carmichael house.

Meanwhile, the First Lady continues her house hunting and, according to spokeswoman Terri Carbaugh, remains open to all possibilities.

"Everything's on the table, whether it's a vacant lot, an existing home or a place that could undergo remodeling," said Carbaugh.

Although recent news reports indicated that Ms. Shriver had zeroed in on the former governor's mansion in Carmichael, currently on the market for $5.2 million, Carbaugh said that home is no higher on the priority list than any other location currently under consideration.

The First Lady has looked at a number of homes and building sites, including the empty parcel in West Sacramento, but isn't sold on any particular location. "She approaches this like she approaches everything she does: she's going to do her research and is not going to rush into a decision," said Carbaugh. "She views this as a long-term, permanent solution for California's future families. It's more important to do it right than do it in a rush."

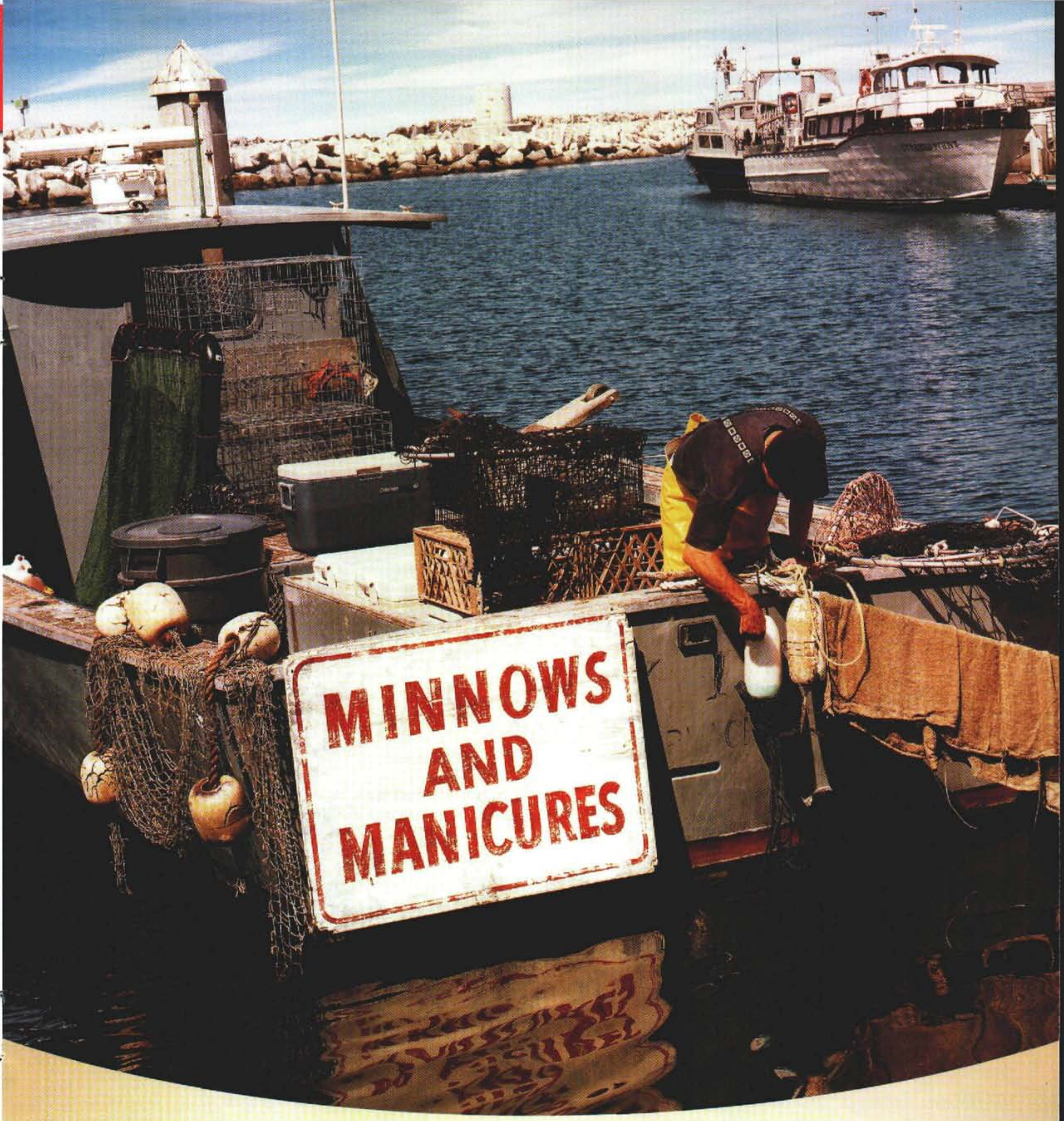
But until Arnold, Maria and their four children find a permanent roost, the entire issue of housing California's governor remains in limbo. West Sacramento has kept its welcome mat extended and advocates for a downtown governor's mansion continue rallying supporters to their case. Both sides are eagerly anticipating some signal from the governor.

As Charles Kuralt wrote in "Our Governors' Mansion," the real purpose of a governor's residence is "not to give the governors a place to lay their heads at night, but to give school children a place to visit." California, he added, is one of a handful of states that appear indifferent to whether their chief executive lives in "a rented house, a condo or a tent."

Meanwhile, the governor continues to lease his 2,000-square-foot Hyatt hotel suite with its twin treadmills and room service. He's got a long-term lease through June, at least, according to hotel officials. As for their world-famous houseguest, Hyatt Regency general manager Jerry Westenhaver said having Arnold Schwarzenegger living at the Hyatt has elevated not only the hotel's stature but has helped shake Sacramento of its "sleepy, small-town" image. "We're used to having celebrities stay here ... but we're very excited about having him as a guest, however long he stays."

Claudia Buck is managing editor. Comments may be sent to **comments@californiajournal.com**

Even New York City's mayor has an official home, Gracie Mansion.



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